

IN THESE TIMES

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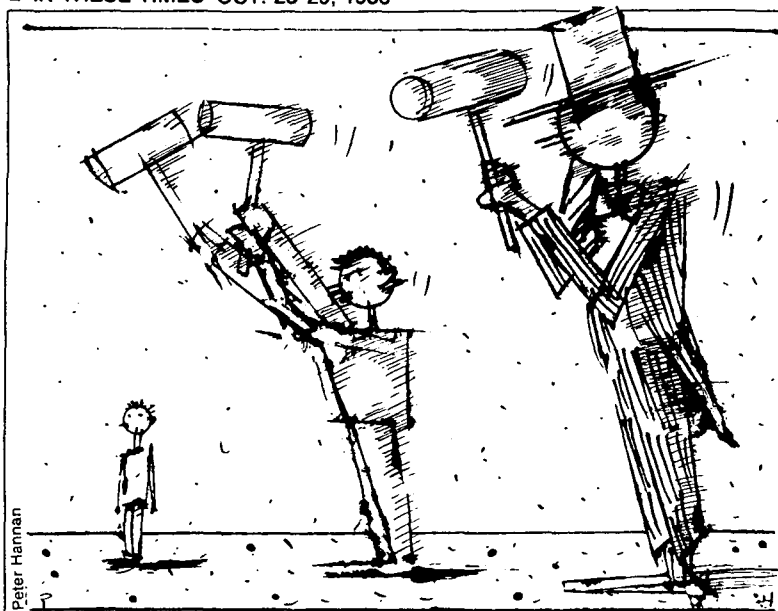
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THE FARRAKHAN NATION

Is Farrakhan's appeal a
sign of growing racism
and anti-Semitism in the
black community?

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The vicious cycle of terrorism

By Dilip Hiro

LONDON

Once the current elation about "hijacking the hijackers" has subsided in the country, Americans will realize, to their consternation, that the U.S. has been fully integrated into the vicious cycle of terror and counter-terror endemic to the Mideast for several decades. For the time being, President Reagan has reason to feel euphoric. Having raged for some years against international terrorism, he at last got his chance to engage in what Secretary of State George Shultz called "legitimate retaliation." Had Egypt failed to end the *Achille Lauro* crisis on October 9, Reagan had the Delta counter-terrorist force assembled in Sicily to storm the Italian cruiser the following night.

His record until then had been dismal. In April 1983 Reagan promised to avenge the blowing up of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, only to realize that this was easier said than done. Six months later, he threatened to avenge the deaths of 241 American Marines killed by a suicide bomber in the Lebanese capital. But nothing happened. And then, nothing came of his threat to punish the assassins of a Navy diver during the June hijacking of a TWA airliner. In contrast, the interception of the Egyptian Boeing 737 carrying the Italian liner's four hijackers showed unusual political decisiveness and deviousness by the White House, coupled with flawless performance by American military and intelligence agencies.

The White House pressured Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to intercede to secure the release of 507 hostages, and succeeded. Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismat Abdul-Maguid worked closely with the American ambassador in Cairo to resolve the crisis. When he signed a written agreement with the Italian ambassador in Cairo stating that Rome would deliver the hijackers directly to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the American ambassador was present. The verbal understanding that the Italian response was conditional on no hostage having been harmed was not incorporated into the agreement.

Having obtained the hostages' release, the White House concentrated on catching the hijackers, particularly after they had been discovered to have killed American Leon Klinghoffer. It ignored the statements by President Mubarak and his foreign minister that the hijackers had been sent to Tunisia, relying instead on information obtained from its own sources. These sources were by all indications CIA agents. Given the dominance that the U.S. enjoys in almost all walks of Egyptian life, the CIA has access to many of the country's highest officials.

It never occurred to the Egyptian leaders that the U.S., their protector and ally, would be perfidious enough to act independently, and even act *against* them, to secure its objective. Quite innocently, instead of putting the hijackers, guarded by Egyptian security and diplomatic officials on a scheduled flight to Tunis, they opted for a specific aircraft. They compounded their vulnerability by using Al Maza airport, a military base near Cairo, which is also used by U.S. military personnel.

The moment the Americans knew that the Egypt Air Boeing was airborne they had their AWACS based in Egypt's western desert track it. The NATO base near Heraklion, Crete, plotted the Boeing on its screen and Reagan pressured the Tunisian president to withdraw his landing permission to the Egyptian aircraft. Having lost the landing right in Tunis, the Egyptian pilot turned his jet back to Cairo. It was then that his plane was intercepted by the U.S. F-14s, the Tomcats. Since Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has refused to divulge the Tomcats' rules of engagement, one must give credence to statements made by some Navy personnel of *USS Saratoga* that the U.S. fighter aircraft had orders to shoot down the Egyptian plane if it refused to obey orders. This ties in with the statement by Muhammad Abul Abbas, who was aboard the Egyptian jet, that the U.S. fighters had fired warning shots and missiles.

In short, Reagan got his way, but at the expense of inflicting damaging humiliation to the president of a Mideast country closely tied to the U.S. Mubarak was obliged to publicly denounce the American behavior as "an act of piracy." How was he to explain to his fellow citizens that an Egyptian aircraft was intercepted and fired at by the fighter planes of the U.S., Egypt's superpower "ally"—at whose behest he had intervened to resolve the hostage crisis? As it was, only 10 days earlier Mubarak had been shocked to hear the American president personally endorse the Israeli air strike against the PLO headquarters near Tunis: an act of state terrorism that violated Tunisian sovereignty and caused 72 deaths, and which was

(with the U.S. abstaining) unanimously condemned by the UN Security Council (see *In These Times*, Oct. 16). Reagan's subsequent qualification of his stance made little difference to Mubarak, or to any other pro-U.S. Arab leader.

Where has all the intelligence gone?

While American might was galvanized to intercept a plane of its own Arab ally in the Mediterranean, where was the same military-intelligence machine on September 30-October 1, when eight Israeli jets flew 1,500 miles over the Mediterranean, bombed the PLO headquarters near Tunis and returned to base safely. To accomplish their mission these fighter-bombers had to have the support of slow-moving KA-6 tanker jets and Hawk-eye surveillance planes, thus forming a squadron of at least 16 aircraft moving at different speeds.

Washington claims that all this went unseen by its military infrastructure in the Mediterranean—that is, neither the radars on the vessels of the U.S. Sixth Fleet nor the ground based radar screens on Mount Toudos in Cyprus or near Heraklion in Crete or at Domiso in Sicily noticed this Israeli formation, which was in the air for about eight hours. The Pentagon appears to be lying. The decision to turn a blind eye to the Israeli air activity on such a scale in the Mediterranean could only have been taken at the highest level. In other words, top Reagan administration officials had advance knowledge of the Israeli action, and went along with it.

What was the logic behind Israel's raid? The Israeli leaders reckoned that if their action angered the Palestinians to the extent of them quitting the path of negotiated settlement, so much the better: they would be exposed as the intractable terrorists they are. If, on the other hand, they continued their link with King Hussein and showed interest in talking, then Israel would have established by its raid on the PLO headquarters that it—and only it—would dictate the framework of the talks. Either way, Israel would gain. Significantly, while deploring the Israeli air strike, both Yasir Arafat and King Hussein reiterated that they would pursue the peace process.

To convince the Americans, the Israelis argued that only after Prime Minister Peres had shown himself, by a dramatic deed, to be tough on the terrorists—no matter where they were—would he be in a position to initiate serious talks with King Hussein. PLO officials maintain that there is a tacit agreement between Israel and the U.S. to see Arafat dead and the PLO destroyed. This would smooth the way for direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan, which has all along been Peres' goal, and which has Reagan's blessing.

Who gains?

The *Achille Lauro* incident has weakened the position of Arab moderates and strengthened the hands of the Israelis and the hawks in the Reagan administration. The Israelis have been insistent in their declarations that the hijackers belong to the Palestine Liberation Front

THE STORY INSIDE

(PLF), which is part of the pro-Arafat PLO, and that its leader, Muhammad Abul Abbas, is close to Arafat. The fact that Arafat inducted Abbas as one of his two envoys to mediate with the hijackers, and that Abbas achieved swift results, confirmed the Israeli assessment. And the subsequent admission by the pro-Arafat faction of the PLF, based in Tunis, that it was responsible for the hijacking enhanced the Reagan administration's already high regard for Israeli intelligence.

Since its establishment, the PLF has split into four factions: one pro-Arafat, one pro-Syria, one pro-Libya and the remaining so extremist it is shunned by the others. According to Italian state radio, the four hijackers claimed to belong to the most extremist, the Front Line Fire Group. Interestingly, of the hijackers, who range in age from 19 to 23, only one is Palestinian, the others are Jordanian, Syrian and Libyan. The once-united PLF was sponsored by Iraq, a country with whom the U.S. has warm relations. Abbas, the founding leader, now lives in Baghdad and travels abroad on an Iraqi diplomatic passport. Arafat inducted him as his envoy because Abbas is the only leader respected by all PLF factions.

During the *Achille Lauro* crisis Arafat unequivocally condemned the hijack. There is every reason to believe that if the hijackers had been delivered to the PLO they would have been tried and punished severely. Of course, all this would have taken place within the confines of the PLO, and outsiders would have been kept out of it.

Now that the hijackers will be tried by an Italian court there will be the inevitable glare of publicity, at least frequent leaks of the proceedings if the case is heard in secret. Israel must hope that the trial would yield material so damaging to the image of moderation that Arafat has been cultivating that no Western government would agree to deal with him. But Israel's gain is Egypt's loss. Feelings are running high in Egypt against the hijacking of their plane by the U.S. and the Tunis bombing by the Israelis. Mubarak would be loathe to see the result of his painstaking efforts to draw Arafat into the moderate Arab camp washed away. Any stiff sentences on the Arab hijackers by the Italian court would inflame sentiment in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world.

Above all, there is always the chance that some Mideast group will seize Italian and/or American hostages and offer to trade them for the hijackers. This is not just a possibility, but a probability. Such is the nature of politics in the eastern Mediterranean.

Dilip Hiro's latest book is *Iran under the Ayatollahs* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, Boston).



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IN THESE TIMES



On October 11 major anti-apartheid demonstrations were held in 25 cities and on more than 100 campuses across the U.S.

Connie Blitt

Anti-apartheid day on campuses

By Dennis Bernstein & Connie Blitt

THOUSANDS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS have been arrested and hundreds more killed and wounded since a state of emergency was declared by P.W. Botha's ruling National Party in July. The harsh measures taken by the Pretoria regime to silence its opponents have turned death into a daily event. As the black majority struggles to weave their losses into freedom, the reverberations of that struggle are being felt across the Atlantic and around the world.

On October 11, declared a National Day of Protest by the American Committee on Africa, major anti-apartheid demonstrations were held in 25 cities and on more than 100 campuses across the U.S. Many skeptics had doubted the sincerity and depth of last spring's college protests and had predicted the movement would dissipate into summer as the campus leaders accepted their diplomas and moved on to the business of the "real world."

But the students have actually widened their political vision as they become more thoroughly engaged in the struggle against legalized racism. Tanaquil Jones, a student organizer at Columbia University, told *In These Times* that students at Columbia and other campuses around the country are not only broadening their focus to include all of Southern Africa and U.S. intervention in Central America, but they are "linking the struggle against racism in South Africa with the struggle against racism here in the U.S....where 70 percent of the black youth are unemployed and 50 percent of black high school graduates are functionally illiterate."

The National Day of Protest on October 11, held to coincide with International Day for Southern African Political Prisoners, was characterized by a wide variety of actions. While mock shantytowns and cemeteries were constructed on some campuses, others featured teach-ins and mass funeral processions in which the coffin of apartheid was carried and then ceremoniously buried. Direct confrontations, sit-ins and civil disobedience were also a part of the activities at Wesleyan, Notre Dame, Cornell and the Universities of Minnesota and Illinois.

In New York, a national speaking tour sponsored by the United States Student Association titled "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua" was launched at Medgar Evers College. The tour features student represen-

tatives from the African National Congress (ANC), South-West People's Organization (SWAPO) and the National Union of Nicaraguan Students.

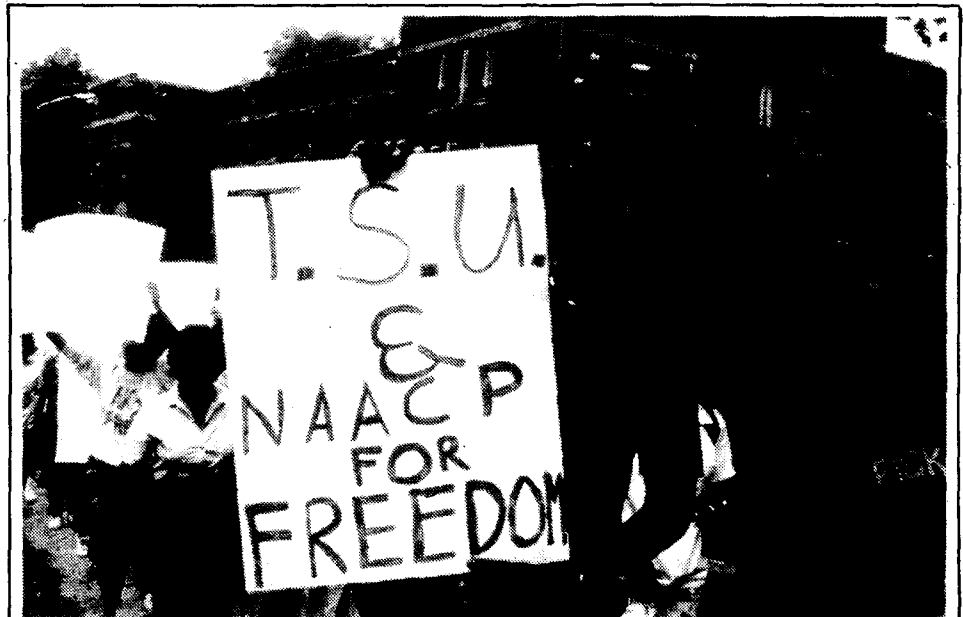
A city-wide rally sponsored by students at Columbia and the American Committee on Africa was held October 11 in front of the Manhattan headquarters of Citicorp, one of the few U.S. banks with branches in South Africa. Keynote speaker Rev. Jesse Jackson told a 1,000-strong crowd assembled for a march to the South African consulate, "Apartheid is a system with an American backbone." Jackson implored the demonstrators to divest from Citicorp and other firms that continue to profit from what he characterized as a system of modern-day slavery ruled by the descendants of the Third Reich. "The Nazis are dead in Bitburg," intoned Jackson, "but alive in Johannesburg."

During the last year, 28 major universities and colleges, several states and scores of local municipalities have divested fully or partially from corporations that continue to do business with the white-minority regime. After a nine-year struggle with several generations of students, the Columbia University Board of Trustees met recently and agreed to divest \$40 million of South African-related investments. Students at Columbia are encouraged but not satisfied. They will be joining other student activists and anti-apartheid organizations in New York to push for state-wide divestment and will also kick off a material aid campaign in direct support of Southern African liberation movements. Similar actions are being taken by student/community coalitions in a host of other states.

Strong anti-apartheid sentiments have fostered an awareness of racial issues at home for students at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (a city still reeling from the police fire-bombing of the MOVE headquarters last spring). "We're consciously trying to make that link between racism here and in South Africa," said graduate student Patrick Hagopian. Though Penn students have not yet been successful in pressing their university to divest, they have conducted several successful smaller battles against local manifestations of racism, including winning the reinstatement of a custodial supervisor and assuring the departure of an instructor who made several racial slurs during class lectures.

"For some students it's easier to see the racism at home," said Hagopian. "For others it's easier to be blind to the racism at home and concentrate on the much more

obvious and spectacular evils of apartheid. We're trying to adopt a global and local focus, and make a link between both. And we won't be successful unless we do that."



Connie Blitt

Black students respond to protest day

If he were alive today, Cornelius Vanderbilt would be proud of the university he began in the mid-1800s with \$1 million, one year's profits on his trans-Nicaraguan shipping company. His one-time employee, Nashville native William Walker, attempted to impose slavery on that Central American country in order to give a boost to bigotry in the South, and to this day blacks feel less than welcome at Vanderbilt.

"When you look around," said Jacqueline Wright, president of the campus Black Students Alliance, as she gestured toward the well-manicured campus of brick archways and stone edifices, "you see one of the largest populations [of blacks] here at Vanderbilt are in servant roles, in the kitchen and the clean-up and things like that."

Wright planned to participate in the October 11 National Day of Protest against apartheid, although several other black students at Vanderbilt were hesitant for fear that their financial aid would be cut by vindictive university officials. One member of the Black Students Alliance kept asking her, "What happens if they take our scholarships away?"

Despite student newspaper *The Hustler's* editorial on October 11 entitled "Don't March Today," Wright and other campus organizers managed to pull to-

gether more than 50 Vanderbilt students, black and white, to join the city-wide rally against apartheid.

Nashville is noted for being the home of several traditionally black colleges, Fisk University, Tennessee State University and Meharry Medical College, which graduates more than 40 percent of the nation's black doctors. Students from these schools played a prominent role in the early days of the civil rights movement. They took the lead by sitting in at a Woolworth's segregated lunch counter and establishing cooperatives to take care of the daily needs of Nashville's poor.

But the call for integration in education, which was meant to bring broader access to higher learning, has lately been turned against Tennessee State University (TSU), historically a black campus. "We have apartheid here at TSU," proclaimed student David Mills, referring to the recent decision by a federal judge requiring TSU to become 50 percent white by 1994. To Mills, chairman of the Committee to Save TSU, the message from the state is clearly that "nothing of quality can come out unless it's not only half-white but controlled by whites. The logic that is underlying this case is the same logic that denies the selfhood, the meaning and the value of black people in South Africa."

Continued on page 6

INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

Hot frozen foods

Arson—to the tune of an estimated \$3 million in damages—has racked the frozen food processing town of Watsonville, Calif., since October 10. In four separate instances, equipment and material from two canning plants being struck for wage reductions were burned. No one has been arrested. And in a six-week strike battle that has escalated considerably in the last few weeks, the Teamsters Local 912 recently filed a lawsuit against the city, the police chief and police captain for conspiring for the “creation of and perpetuation of a climate of lawlessness, fear and violence surrounding the strike” in order to help render the strike ineffective.

More than 1,700 workers, mostly Hispanic women, walked off their processing jobs six weeks ago when management at two of Watsonville's seven frozen food processing plants implemented 30 to 60 percent wage reductions. The minimum wage for line workers was cut from \$6.66 to \$4.25 per hour. On October 6, the strikers had a boost in morale when 2,000 supporters—union leaders, students and politicians from all over California—marched five miles through town to within 60 feet of one of the struck companies' gates. Demonstrators were defying a court order that severely limited the movements of a maximum of 54 pickets within 100 yards of the plant. Since the order was put into effect on September 10, dozens of strikers have been arrested and harassed by local police. But no arrests were made at the October 6 demonstration—although local police had called in more than 100 riot squad officers.

Besides wage cuts, the struck plants (Watsonville Canning and Richard A. Shaw Frozen Foods) had also asked members of Teamsters Local 912 for 45 givebacks, including reduced health coverage and seniority privileges, and restricted access to union representatives. The companies claim imported products and those made at non-union, out-of-state plants are undercutting them on the frozen food market, and that labor costs will eventually drive them out of competition. Competitors in other states are avidly watching the labor showdown in Watsonville, which is the nation's leader in frozen vegetables, accounting for 45 percent of the U.S. supply. Plant operators in Idaho, Texas and Tennessee say they will follow whatever trend Watsonville employers can establish with wage levels.

Although contracts at the plants had expired June 30, the strike wasn't called until the fall harvest had reached its peak. The unions had hoped that the companies couldn't afford to miss their fall supply of spinach, lima beans and broccoli that pours out of the nearby Salinas Valley. And even if the plants can afford to wait it out, surrounding farmers cannot. Some portion of every farmer's crop is contracted for the frozen market and, with the plant nearly shut down, growers are plowing their crops under rather than flooding markets with the oversupply. (One aggressive group of brussels sprouts growers organized among themselves and are leasing the Shaw plant at night. They run their product from steamer to freezer with strikebreakers brought into the plant in armored cars.)

The Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) have been strategic in keeping the strike's momentum going. Last summer, local union officials were reluctant to call a strike, but TDU organizers forced a strike vote that was supported nearly unanimously by the general membership. TDU leaders continue to organize food giveaways and have formed a strike support committee among local churches and businesses.

Swimming upstream

Not everybody in France is indifferent to the sinking of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* by the French government, reports Diana Johnstone. A few hardy souls actually organized a demonstration in Paris October 12 in solidarity with the Greenpeace campaign to end all nuclear tests, but only about 150 people came out to be counted. French anti-nuclear activists are up against their own national weakness, public apathy and a media blackout. The ecological, leftist or peace groups theoretically concerned with the Greenpeace affair are too skeletal to summon the grassroots—even if they could stop their quarreling among themselves, which apparently they cannot. So those who decided to go ahead anyway and call a rally in solidarity with Greenpeace tried to get publicity for it with an action designed to attract the media.



On October 10, five frogmen went into the waters of the river Seine and positioned themselves in front of the Pont Neuf. They then drifted downstream with a floating banner reading: “Don't sink my boat—no to all nuclear tests.” The Greenpeace supporters chose to call their ad hoc collective “Don't sink my boat” which in French (“*Coule pas mon bateau*”) calls up the extraordinarily successful anti-racism slogan “Hands off my pal! (*Touche pas a mon pote*)”. The respected 81-year-old ecologist Rene Dumont was there to show his sympathy and his opposition to state terrorism against Greenpeace. Dumont will head the Paris Green-Ecologist list of candidates in the French parliamentary elections next March. He promised to stress Greenpeace and the Third World, as well as Paris' environmental problems, in his campaign.

Though the event was well attended by the media, not a glimpse appeared on television or in newspapers like *Liberation* or *Le Matin*, whose readers might presumably be interested. The left-leaning press is particularly anxious to spare the Mitterrand government any further embarrassment. *Le Monde* buried a four-line announcement of the demonstration in its weekend edition that came out two hours before the rally was held.

The small Paris demonstration had a barge on the Seine with the “Don't sink my boat” slogan; balloons,

live rock music, serious speakers including Dutch member of the European Parliament Bram van der Lek, the cartoonist Cabu giving away frogmen drawings and a police helicopter circling overhead—but few participants. It would be optimistic to blame the media blackout alone. But even French Greens and peace groups are hesitant to challenge the mass chauvinism revealed in France by the Greenpeace affair.

Meanwhile, at the Socialist Party congress in Toulouse, a hero's welcome was accorded ousted Defense Minister Charles Hernu, officially responsible for sinking the *Rainbow Warrior*. A party official told *Liberation* that Socialists had instructions not to talk about Greenpeace because “it would give them too much publicity.” The newspaper reporter collected comments from Socialist delegates like this one: “What attack? That little bomb that went off under a little boat? Nobody gives a damn...” Hernu is considered so popular there is even talk of bringing him back as defense minister in the right-wing government that will take over next spring if the elections go as expected. Hernu set out to make the Socialists and the military love each other. He has been only half successful. According to Rene Dumont, “Hernu has militarized the Socialists but he has not ‘socialized’ the military.”

This week's contributor: Elizabeth Schilling

Greyhound dogs union workers

IF THE LABOR MOVEMENT EVER COMPILED a Hall of Infamy, one candidate in the hot competition would be Greyhound Corporation. The conglomerate that grew from a bus line sold its Armour meatpacking division in 1983 in a fashion that permitted the new owner to dump former employees and their union, then reopen at wages several dollars an hour lower. In the winter of that same year Greyhound tried to impose major concessions on its bus lines, forced a strike and kept running with strikebreakers. Eventually it won a 15 percent cut in wages and benefits and a two-tier pay scale, paying new workers less.

That apparently wasn't enough. At least 2,500 of the 13,000 bus employees have since been cut, and Greyhound Chairman John Teets delivered in August an ultimatum in mid-contract to the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU): give up more, including subcontracting of thousands of remaining jobs, or the company will shut down much of its operation.

Greyhound Corporation is solidly profitable, and Teets last year made \$993,000, making him the 37th highest paid U.S. executive in a *Business Week* survey. The transit group, which provides only 35 percent of the conglomerate's revenue, and possibly Greyhound Lines itself, is also profitable but not at the level Teets wants—15 percent return on equity. So with or without the union's agreement, he plans to franchise as much of the business as possible to other operators, most of them non-union and some of them wholly or partly owned by the parent Greyhound Corporation. It's a way to get rid of unions, cut labor costs, shift risk to franchisers and raise profits.

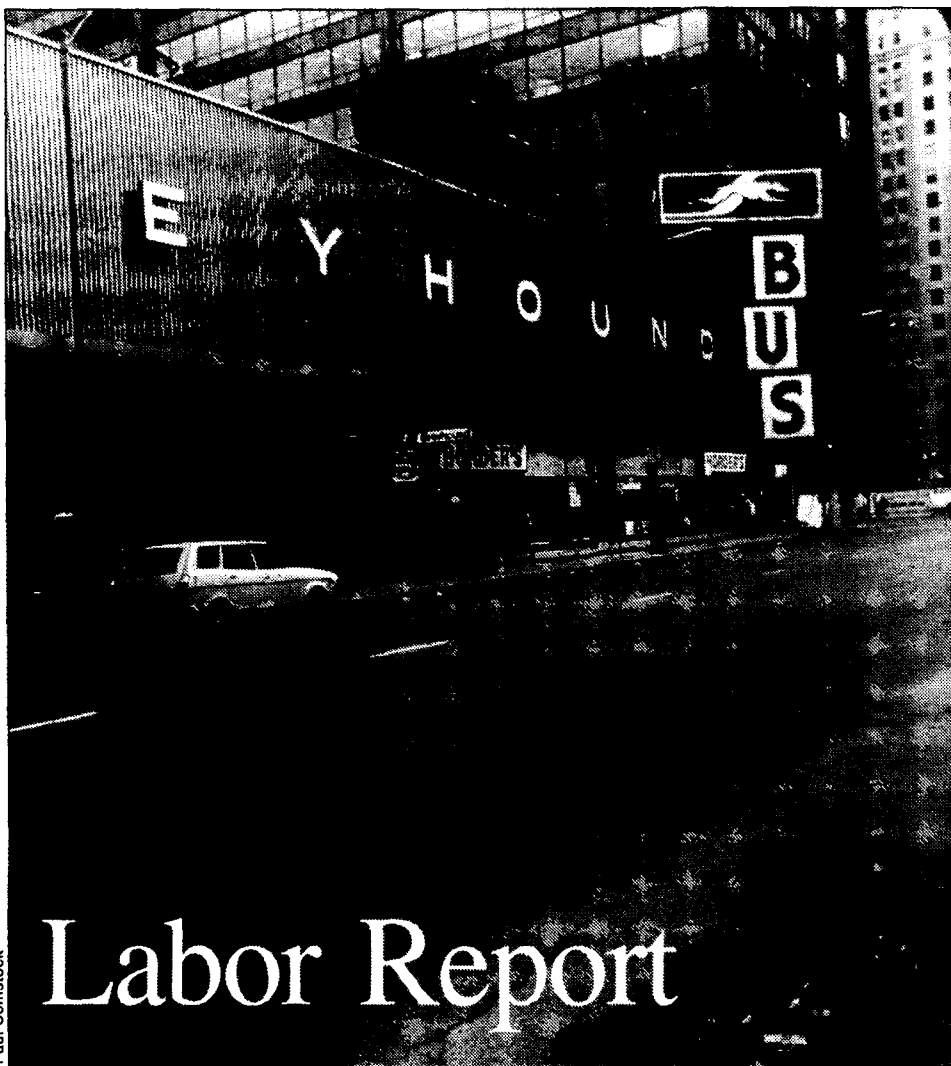
Under the threat of losing thousands of jobs, ATU leaders agreed in August to reopen the contract—many thinking the topics would be limited. But the company quickly raised the ante. By early September Greyhound Bargaining Council President Dominic Sirignano was offering concessions worth roughly \$30 million over three years. Greyhound wanted still more. By early October the union bargainers voted narrowly to send members the last company proposal, more than \$60 million in concessions over a contract extended to 1989. (A 13-12 vote against sending the contract to members was reversed after an all-night union meeting, and one opponent had to go home and another changed his mind.)

The agreement would freeze wages and eliminate any cost-of-living adjustments through 1989. But it would also get rid of roughly 4,000 workers by subcontracting telephone information services, converting all company-operated stations into franchises, franchising up to 10 percent of all route-miles currently driven, and franchising charter business—currently the bus segment hurt least by competition from cheap air fares and rental cars but most competitive with other bus lines. Many work rule changes would also cut jobs and make remaining ones tougher.

"The ATU is always on the cutting edge of what's wrong with unions in the U.S.," laments James Cushing-Murray, president of the 1,000-member Los Angeles local, and, along with a few other big-local leaders, a strong opponent of the new contract. "We'll be the first union to subcontract out work willingly."

Cushing-Murray believes Greyhound could drum up more business despite the decline in scheduled route ridership. And he was willing to propose alternatives: stations run by employee cooperatives, driver-company revenue sharing in charter buses, or more flexibility and use of part-timers for charters.

But the union leaders, bargaining from a position of assumed weakness, Cushing-Murray says, simply caved in. Women, minorities and younger workers will be especially hard hit, but bus drivers with more than 10 years seniority have condi-



Labor Report

By David Moberg

tional job security until the contract's end. Over the next few weeks members will be voting on the proposal.

Opponents recognize that Greyhound will continue to attack the union no matter how they vote. "Greyhound is saying give us your jobs or we'll take your jobs," bus driver and rank-and-file organizer Gershon Mayer said. With that alternative, Philadelphia local President David Harrison concluded, "It's better to fight and lose it than throw it at them."

Standing strong in tough times

If the Amalgamated Transit Union has been among the vanguard offering concessions in recent years, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) has been valiantly carrying a torch of militancy in opposition to concessions. Founded 50 years ago and driven from the CIO—then raided—in the red-baiting years after World War II, the UE demonstrated its convictions at its recent convention by electing a woman as its secretary-treasurer, one of a triumvirate of top officials, and the first woman elected to such rank in an industrial union in the U.S.

Amy R. Newell, 38, who handed out her first union leaflets at age three as the daughter of UE organizers, takes office November 1. "I'd just like to keep the union on course," she said. "When other unions have endorsed quality circles, ESOPs [employee stock ownership plans] and concessions, we've steered a straight course that there are workers and there are bosses, and we represent workers."

Although committed to pay equity for women, Newell is convinced that "we can't rely on the government and the courts. If the labor movement is going to make progress, it will have to be done across the bargaining table."

UE has lost some of its 160,000 members in the past couple of years because its contracts are concentrated in older, northern plants. But it has stepped up organizing, not only in its traditional base, but also in the sunbelt, "hi-tech" industries, and office and technical workers—expanding its staff despite loss of dues.

Its tough bargaining policies have paid some dividends. Last year, when other unions averaged an historic low of 2.4 percent increases in the first year of new contracts, UE first-year wage increases averaged 3.9 percent. But UE locals have stood out particularly in their fights against plant

closings, such as a protracted and successful battle at Morse Twist Drill in New Bedford, Mass., where the threat of the city's acquisition of the plant under powers of eminent domain kept the plant open for sale to a new owner; an imaginative but unsuccessful battle at a General Electric nuclear turbine factory in Charleston, S.C., where workers developed plans for converting the plant into an alternative energy and environmental systems center; and a combined legal, political and contractual battle that saved the contract and jobs at a subsidiary that the Textron conglomerate wanted to sell.

Newell has been involved in many organizing efforts, including the runaway Litton microwave oven plant in Sioux Falls, S.D. Last year workers there won their first contract after UE cooperated with the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department on a corporate campaign against the notoriously anti-union company. It was another step, like the development of coordinated bargaining at General Electric in 1970, toward an end to the political bitterness between UE—which is highly critical of U.S. milit-



Amy R. Newell, UE's new secretary-treasurer, takes office November 1.

ary spending and Reagan administration policy in Central America—and the AFL-CIO. "I think that under the conditions of today," Newell said, "it is becoming crystal clear that the labor movement has to find better ways to stand together."

How to counter concession wave

Union representatives who want to provide mutual aid to other unions fighting concessions will be gathering in Chicago

December 6-8 for the founding conference of National Rank and File Against Concessions. Speakers will include David Patterson, director of a Steelworkers district in Canada, talking about the Canadian Labor Congress' experience opposing concessions, and former UAW leader Victor Reuther. (Information and reservations are available from the group c/o UAW Local 879, 2191 Ford Parkway, St. Paul, Minn. 55116).

The current issue of *Labor Research Review* surveys a variety of new tactics for labor, including case histories and debates about in-plant alternatives to strikes, economic conversion, corporate campaigns, quality of worklife and worker ownership. Always essential reading for people interested in labor's possibilities, the *Review* is \$4 from 3411 W. Diversey, Chicago, Ill. 60647.

A recent issue of *Ammo*, the UAW's lively pocket-sized magazine, covers much of the same ground in a colorful, concise, easy-to-read fashion well-suited for organizers. "Winning in Tough Times" (Vol. 23, No. 2) is available from the UAW.

Union defeated in Cannon vote

Unfortunately, there's also lots of losing in tough times. In July 1984 the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) started a new organizing drive among the 10,500 workers at Cannon Mills in the area around Kanapolis, N.C. Long the paternalistic fiefdom of the Cannon family, the mills were sold in 1982 to California financier David Murdock. He began cutting workers and "stretching out" workloads. Paternalism receded: Murdock quickly told workers in company homes previously rented for \$40 a month—to compensate in part for the low wages—that they could buy the houses or get out.

Although a 1974 union drive was defeated 54 to 46 percent, organizers felt that Murdock's hard line and his apparently casual commitment to the textile business made the mills ripe. "Everybody's got so much work on them now," Agnes Cannon, 41, said. "And they've started cutting people's pay. Before I didn't care one way or another about a union, but I've seen too many people crying, myself included, upset on the job, afraid we can't make it."

But in the campaign's final weeks, Murdock's minions of anti-union consultants unleashed a barrage of propaganda—new leaflets posted every day (a few days before the election one had a picture of the plant as before and after a union showing full and empty parking lots and asking: "Is this your future?"), anti-union films once a week and a final personal push by Murdock. A few weeks before the October 10 vote, Murdock began signing workers' paychecks, then went through the plant shaking hands on all shifts.

But according to the union, which is filing unfair labor practice charges, he also told workers that he could stop signing the checks as fast as he started. Repeatedly, Murdock conveyed the message that if the union came in, he would not invest more money, and if wages went up and he couldn't compete, he would close the plants.

"If we could have had elections the day petitions were turned in [last August], we would have won," said Reese Boulware, a loom fixer at a unionized Fieldcrest mill on leave to organize Cannon workers. "As bad as times are, with all the textile mill closings, people are afraid if they voted union they'd be out of a job." Black workers were heavily targeted by the company through churches and community leaders. The union used mailings, radio and TV to supplement its 10 organizers. But when the ballots were counted, the union was defeated 63 to 37 percent.

Although they were hopeful just before the election, organizers now say that typically three or more votes are needed to win at big plants. "The company has to win every time," Boulware said. "We've only got to win once."



Protests

Continued from page 3

violence South African-style. According to Micky Kelly, who participated in the action, those who sat-in were maced, dragged roughly down stairs and had their eyes poked by a contingent of frustrated campus police.

At a rally the next day, students protested the actions of the campus police and celeb-

rated the university's timely decision to divest. They were addressed by an ANC member who spoke of the hardships he faced under the pass laws. The speech was followed by a mass burning of mock South African passbooks issued to everyone present.

Anti-apartheid activists at Minnesota have also focused on the problems of racism at home. "The University of Minnesota not only supports apartheid in South Africa but also has racist policies at the University,"

said Kelly, an East Asian Studies major, "for example, cutting programs that serve poor and minority students."

Tensions were heightened at the University of Illinois when students interrupted an open Board of Trustees meeting by calling for the suspension of rules in order to raise the issue of divestment. As a board member attempted to read what Beau Barry, vice president of the student government at the Chicago campus, characterized as the "riot act," some 40 protesters began to chant,

Blacks

Continued from page 3

Following a football pep rally, 40 TSU students began the October anti-apartheid march in Nashville. As they approached the Fisk grounds, they were engulfed by more than 200 "Fiskites" swelling out of their campus and into the street chanting and carrying signs and banners. Fisk, a prestigious black college, draws an international student body.

"What goes on in South Africa has a special calling to the hearts of Fisk University students, administration and staff," said Student Government Association President Juliette Williams, "because we have many students here from South Africa who cannot freely return home and live as they live here; and because of that we have to march."

Both student groups and the community-based Black Project of the U.S. Out of Central America organization wove a mile-long trail as they strode toward downtown Nashville. They were joined, amid cheers on both sides, by students from Vanderbilt University.

At the Legislative Plaza the protesters, by this time 500 strong, sang gospels, saw street theater and heard representatives speak from each school. In addition, Rep. Pete Drew (R-Knoxville) reminded the crowd that the divestment bill he had introduced to the state legislature would soon be up for a vote. Many speakers had compared apartheid to racism in the U.S., but Drew instinctively combined them, as he urged students not to be fooled by "the game" of the Sullivan principles or other half-way measures advocated by Reagan or Botha. "It's that old American game that they played on us when we got involved in the integration process for the purpose of obtaining freedom and justice, and ended

up obtaining integration. Don't let that happen to us again!"

Although Fisk has no investments in South Africa, Vanderbilt, its white neighbor with one of the largest endowments in the country, is quite a different story. On October 11, Vanderbilt students kicked off their divestment campaign. Junior Wendell Smith has no delusions about the enormity of the task ahead. Persuading Vanderbilt to divest, Smith said, will be "like moving a boulder with a toothpick."

Participants in the Nashville rally claimed victory as the city-wide employee pension fund announced after the rally that it will most likely divest its \$16 million holdings in corporations that do business in South Africa. "If it looks like it's going to take a little more pressure," said student coordinator of the march Ty Brown, "we are going to create a much broader coalition of students, unions and community groups to encourage [the pension fund's] divestment."

—D.B. & C.B.

"What happened at Columbia? Total divestment! What happened at the University of Illinois? Partners in apartheid!" The board filed out.

On October 13, three days later, police arrived at the homes of five student demonstrators with arrest warrants stemming from charges that they disrupted the normal flow of university business. "It's become pretty clear to us," said Beau Barry, who as *In These Times* went to press was still hiding from the police, "that in a premeditated fashion, the university is trying to stop any kind of democratic response to the fact that they have \$21 million in South African-related investments."

National student movement

Indeed, students' commitment is being tested by those members of the corporate establishment who are willing to overlook apartheid's implications for the sake of expanding financial portfolios. Nevertheless, the student anti-apartheid movement is growing to encompass a broader range of young people, including a new wave of supporters from high schools, as well as small and community colleges. Students from Atlanta Junior College joined the Georgia Coalition for Divestment and participated in rallies and demonstrations on October 11 in Atlanta, where they heard Native American Aron Two Elk make the connection between Indian reservations in this country and *bantustans* in South Africa. At Buena Vista, a small college in Iowa where there have been extensive actions, one young student quipped that anti-apartheid protests are becoming "a serious alternative to freshman mixers."

Joe Iosbaker, a University of Iowa student and a founding member of the Progressive Student Network, said that a nationally coordinated student network is in its "infantile stages," but is inevitable. Iosbaker, who is also interested in seeing a nationally coordinated effort against CIA campus recruitment, said he looks forward to meeting other students from around the country at upcoming national student organizing meetings planned for this fall in Chicago and New York.

Many longtime social change advocates hope that the new student anti-apartheid movement will continue to broaden its focus to the workings of the U.S. in Central America and other global hot spots, as well as to the racism and struggles for self-determination at home. Leo Lillard, director of the African American Cultural Alliance in Nashville, Tenn., comments that many challenges lay ahead. "The blood is starting to circulate again in the body that's been dead a long time. We're just starting to wiggle our toes again. There's a long way to go, a long way to go to winning a de-catholon."

Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt write regularly for *In These Times*.



"I first met Allan Boesak in early 1983. His approach to liberation—and his opposition to apartheid—was from a Christian standpoint. I'm not a Christian, I have no religion, but I was greatly impressed by his sincerity and by the kind of Christianity that was his Christianity." —Nadine Gordimer, *The Village Voice*

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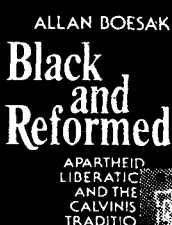
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Allan Boesak is a founder of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. On August 28, he was arrested by South African security forces.

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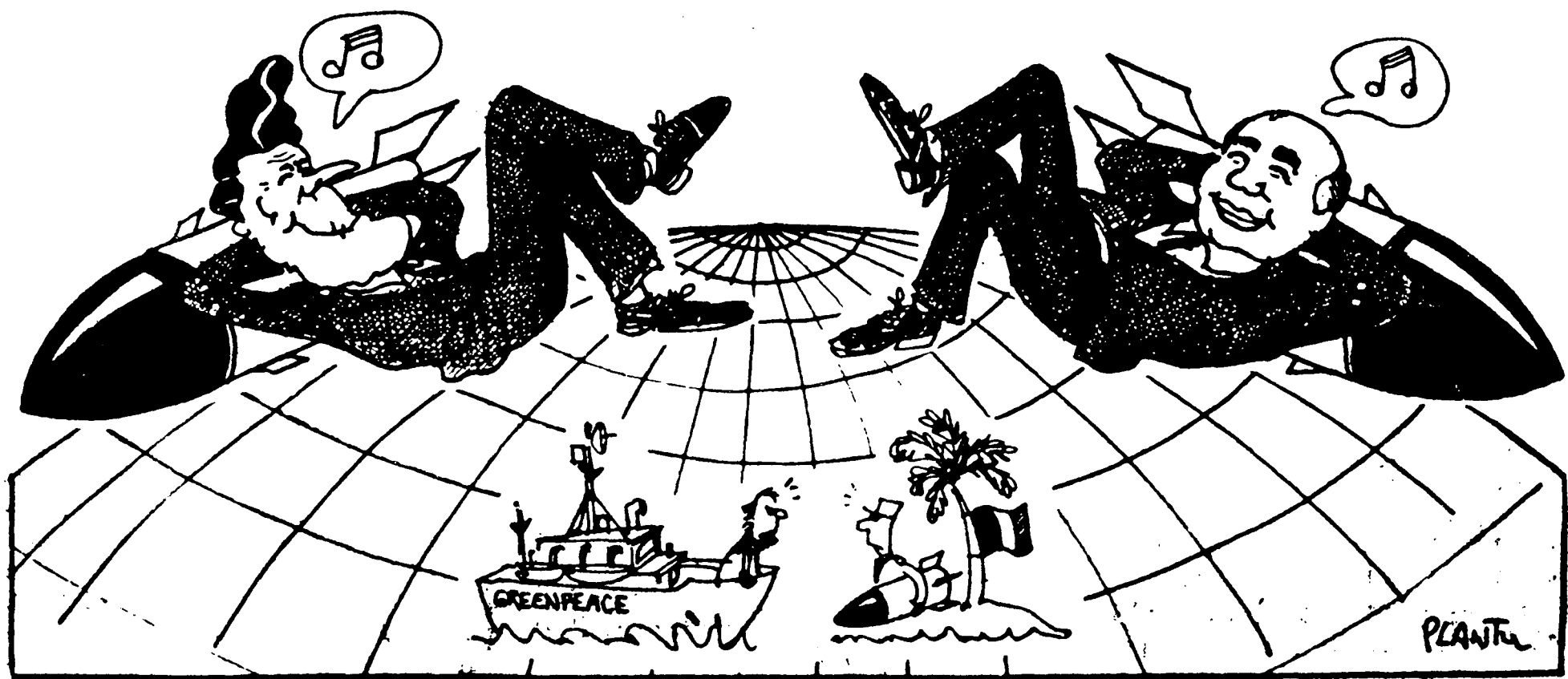
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GERMANY

The SPD is seeking a policy to save detente

By Diana Johnstone

BONN

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SPD), the strongest political party in Western Europe, wants to save detente. If any party is still able to stop the global militarization being promoted by the Reagan administration, it must be the SPD—but that is a big "if."

The party seems to have a plausibly winning candidate for chancellor in Johannes Rau, who wants to do in 1987 on the national level what he did this year in North-Rhine Westphalia—win an absolute majority so the SPD can, for the first time, rule alone. Rau is a leader who produces reassuring vibrations rather than novel ideas. As prime minister of the most populous state, he is well placed to remain above the fray as party leaders in Bonn debate the platform that will be adopted next year. The program, Rau says, will include revival of detente and a German contribution to the disarmament process, within the framework of the NATO alliance.

Germans speak of "security" rather than "defense" policy. The "national security state" has given the term sinister connotations. But what they have in mind is that "security" is broader than defense—including political and economic factors, not necessarily military—and is not directed against a "threat" but is potentially mutual and cooperative. In the long run, supposedly, countries in East and West can recognize their mutual interest in avoiding war's devastation and treat security as a common problem. Last month former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt visited East Germany and got Communist leader Erich Honecker to join in endorsing the concept of a "security partnership" in this sense. The SPD and East German Communists have agreed on a project to ban chemical weapons from Central Europe and will no doubt follow this up with a project for a nuclear weapons-free corridor along the border between East and West.

At the same time, the SPD must work out a security policy compatible with its firm commitment to NATO, which is no easy matter given the Reagan administration's present attitude. The "Union" parties (Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union) have tried to exploit this internal debate to pin charges of "anti-Americanism" on the SPD.

Thus a row broke out when an internal

discussion paper by Andreas von Bulow, chairman of the SPD security policy commission, was leaked to the press on September 8, probably by someone in the SPD right wing who wanted to shoot it down. Von Bulow suggested a structural approach to confidence building, notably through renunciation by both sides of deep strike retaliatory defense postures that look to the other side like readiness to attack and thus risk provoking a preventive first strike in times of tension. This structurally defensive defense is contrary both to traditional Warsaw Pact strategy—aimed at moving the war rapidly Westward in case of NATO attack to avoid a repetition of 1941—and to the deep strike "Follow on Forces Attack (FOFA) strategy being taken up by NATO. Not surprisingly, the prospect of serving as the battlefield for two electronically advanced, aggressively poised alliances makes some Germans uneasy.

Both sides should give up the capacity to make deep surprise attacks, von Bulow recommended. He also suggested that, "in the next one or two decades, Europeans in East and West should be able to defend themselves alone at least in the conventional field. Soviet troops should be withdrawn to their homeland by the turn of the century at the latest. Right after them, the American troops could then also be withdrawn, except for a symbolic remnant especially in West Berlin." Eventually, he suggested, a strictly defensive defense of borders could be the task of reserve forces mobilized along the lines of the Swedish and Swiss models, with military service reduced to seven or eight months.

The right-wing uproar went from the press into the Bundestag, where CDU/CSU fraction leader Alfred Dregger said that a "security partnership with the USSR means the end of security partnership with the U.S." Dregger called the von Bulow study a "security risk" for the Federal Republic. Arguing for permanent reliance on the U.S., Dregger said that "European defense without the U.S. lacks the required strategic depth." His position is that a strong Western alliance is needed to overcome the "unsatisfactory" situation in Europe and "strive for human rights in the whole of Europe."

Defending himself vigorously, von Bulow retorted that "the abysmal mental laziness of the CDU/CSU over Europe's future" was a "much greater long-range security risk."

"When Herr Dregger in his book calls Hitler dumb and criminal because—listen

to this!—he didn't carry out his attack on Russia as a war of liberation, this shows better than anything else the state of mind with which a large part of the Union even today still think they can make policy," von Bulow said. So long as such ideas were at work in German brains, he added, Germans could count on a big coalition of East and West Europeans to protect themselves from the practical consequences of such ideas. He noted that the Soviets "distribute extracts of your book, Herr Dregger, throughout the Eastern bloc" as the best available advertising for Soviet Communism.

The SPD leadership defended von Bulow in principle, noting that "whoever wants to overcome the division of Europe and Germany must also think over how to ensure Europe's security without the superpowers." This was a long-range question, and nobody in the SPD leadership called for one-sided withdrawal of American troops, contrary to the distorted versions of von Bulow's proposals pilloried in the right-wing press.

A second SPD discussion paper, whose six authors include Bundestag member Herman Scheer, seems likelier to find its way into the party program. It calls for a complete overhaul of strategy, with nuclear deterrence weapons based only at sea, keeping only purely defensive conventional weapons based on German soil.

In the Bundestag debate, the von Bulow paper was defended by the Greens, who are in a period of internal weakness but who have already made crucial contribution

to inciting the SPD to renovate their policy on security and environmental issues.

The right-wing press attacks on the von Bulow papers are part of a process described by Regis Debray, by which the Americans inhibit Europeans from formulating their own policy. The first hint at innovation is attacked in the press, often echoing the views of the U.S. embassy. New U.S. Ambassador Richard Burt has been going around West Germany saying that those who want to create nuclear-free zones and limit the Americans' capacity to strike the enemy, or who talk of withdrawing U.S. forces, are abandoning Berlin in the short run and all of Europe in the long run to the mercy of the USSR. "What will the Americans think?" cry conservative commentators, to silence the debate.

So far the SPD is standing up to such pressure. To Burt, Egon Bahr retorts that talk about withdrawing U.S. forces comes from Washington, and that the credibility of the U.S. security guarantee should not be put in question. The SPD is carrying on its talks with the East Germans on security, with the Soviets on disarmament in favor of the Third World, with the Poles on confidence-building measures, with Czechoslovakia on environmental problems and with the Hungarians on economic policy.

Der Spiegel raised the frequent skeptical question whether the SPD isn't much more innovative in policy in opposition than it ever was in office. Indeed so, answered Bahr: "Nobody should be forbidden from getting smarter."

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STY1

LOUIS FARRAKHAN

by Salim Muwakkil

NEW YORK

THE HUGE CROWD ATTRACTED BY Minister Louis Farrakhan to Madison Square Garden here on October 7 was growing impatient with the slow process the security-conscious Nation of Islam (NOI) was using to allow entrance into the arena. Portions of the crowd were threatening to get out of hand when an amplified voice boomed this message: "I'm sure Mayor Koch has planted some troublemakers in this crowd to create a disturbance so the press can have a field day with negative propaganda about Min. Farrakhan. If you brothers and sisters see someone making trouble, please inform them that Koch's plan won't work." The crowd calmed down immediately.

That shrewd manipulation of popular passions is emblematic of how NOI, through the charismatic leadership of Farrakhan, has harnessed the spirit of the times to fuel the kind of mass popularity that's been absent in the black community since the days of Malcolm X. He also inspires the same kind of hatred. Farrakhan's scheduled Garden appearance was the hottest topic in New York for several days before his arrival. He provoked condemnation as well as praise and the conflict generated by that dichotomy put a severe strain on more than a few political alignments.

The 30,000 plus who turned out to hear the controversial Farrakhan packed both the main arena and the adjacent Felt Forum (where the proceedings were shown on closed-circuit TV screens) and represented a wide cross-section of the black community. The crowd included graduate students and gang members, Garvyites, Marxists and members of the Urban League. The women in attendance were dressed in everything from business suits to brightly patterned African *bubas*, and hundreds of stylistic variations in between.

The wide array of hairstyles suggested the audience diversity: in addition to traditional straightened styles, corn-rows, dreadlocks and jherri-curls as well as "punked up" contemporary models added to the mix. Rastafarians, Egyptian Coptics, Black Hebrew Israelites and other religious exotics were sprinkled among the mainline Christians, orthodox Muslims and various non-believers in the audience. One group, dressed in camouflage fatigues embellished with large chrome studs, called itself Allah's Black Army. Seated near the front was a group of black MBAs, one of whom explained that they came to hear Farrakhan's message "before it got interpreted by the racist media." Jazz trumpeter Wynton Marsalis and pop vocalist Chaka Khan were also there.

On the dias were luminaries like Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Queen Mother Moore, often called the matriarch of black nationalism, was sitting next to Lenora Fulani, the mayoral candidate of the New Alliance Party, a group that's flagrantly hitching its political hopes to Farrakhan's bandwagon.

Although the appearance was billed as an economic message that would detail the particulars of his POWER (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth) program, Farrakhan spent most of the time defending his controversial statements and making theological analogies.

The crowd, though diverse, roared in unison when Farrakhan said such things as: "No matter what they've said against me, black people are still coming out to hear what I have to say. This means that their propaganda no longer has any effect on them. Black leaders, you are finished if you stand with the enemy of your people."

The "enemy" reference was in response to a news conference held a few days earlier in which a multi-racial range of political and religious leaders denounced Farrakhan and repudiated his message. The collective denunciation was orchestrated by Koch, one of the 52-year-old Black Muslim leader's severest critics. Among the black leaders denouncing him was City Clerk David Dinkins, who is the city's most powerful black politician and the Democratic nominee for Manhattan borough president. Farrakhan singled out Dinkins for special ridicule, calling him a "silly Tom." He said the reason people of Dinkins' ilk did "the masters'" bidding is because they don't properly fear black people.

"They fear white people," Farrakhan said to the adoring throng. "But they have to learn to fear the people that they are supposed to represent." He finished the subject with this question: "Do you feel we ought to let them live?" The fired-up crowd answered: "No!"

Obvious contradictions

NOI officials invariably argue that Farrakhan has spiritual metaphors in mind when he utters such inflammatory rhetoric. But they conveniently ignore the possibility that, since many of the audience are not as aware of such distinctions as are those under Farrakhan's direct authority, they may impressionably assume they've received orders to do away with Dinkins because he's an enemy of the people.

In fact, Farrakhan has an intimate knowledge of how such incendiary language can be translated into action. After Malcolm X made his acrimonious break from Elijah Muhammad in 1964, Farrakhan became one of Malcolm's most persistent detractors. "Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death," he wrote in a December 1964 article in *Muhammad Speaks*, the NOI's newspaper. Malcolm was murdered by NOI members two months later.

Yet when he told the Garden audience, "I'm warning you, Mr. Reagan, you have killed your last black leader when you killed Martin Luther King and Malcolm X," there wasn't a hint of irony in his voice. Similar inconsistencies were peppered throughout his two-and-a-half hour lecture.

"Do you see what our family is doing over there in South Africa?" he asked. "Our black brothers and sisters are rising up with nothing in their hands against a powerful, oppressive government." The audience applauded wildly at this reference to the struggle against apartheid, but there seemed to be no recognition that these sentiments were coming from the mouth of one whose beliefs can accurately be portrayed as apartheid's mirror image. The enthusiastic crowd apparently missed that contradiction.

Others have no problem acknowledging their fondness both for apartheid and Farrakhan. According to a piece in the October 12 *New York Times*, a group of leading white supremacists gathered recently in a kind of summit meeting and, among other things, reaffirmed their support for South



Ted Gray

AND THE RHETORIC OF RACIAL DIVISION



Farrakhan's double-edged message is grabbing the attention of a wide range of black Americans.

Africa and talked of accommodations with Farrakhan.

"I really don't think a lot of black people hear the racist aspect of Farrakhan's message," said Taharqa Aleem, owner of an independent record company and former NOI member. "They just hear the inspirational part. Farrakhan is a very inspirational speaker and he knows how to make black people feel good about themselves in the midst of all the squalor they live in. But more than that, he also motivates them to get rid of the squalor. The NOI takes cleanliness and morality to an extreme."

Aleem argues that Farrakhan's harsh oratory is just a tactic to attract certain alienated segments of the community. "He has to talk shit in order to attract the interest of hard-core bloods who've grown cynical of all the traditional bullshit they've been fed. We shouldn't take that 'blue-eyed devil' stuff too seriously. It's there just to give us some superhuman force to blame for our misfortune. It's harmless."

"In fact," he added, "it's more beneficial than anything else, because it corrals the rage that a lot of people feel, tames it and channels it into strong, but harmless, rhetoric and into an increased sense of industry and morality."

"Farrakhan is just 'woofing,' and black people understand what that is," said Thomas Kochman, an anthropologist at the University of Illinois at Chicago. "'Woofing' is just an aggressive verbal style that blacks use and that whites have no understanding of." Kochman, whose book *Styles in Conflict* argues that cultural differences between blacks and whites are extremely significant and must be understood before there can be meaningful interracial communication, said, "When whites hear Farrakhan, they are terrified by his strong rhetoric, while most blacks respond favorably to his skillful woofing."

Black leadership's failings

Yahya Seifullah is an aide to Rep. Gus Savage (D-IL) and a former captain in the NOI's security force. He also held a top security position with Imam Warith Deen Muhammad, the former leader of the recently disbanded American Muslim Mission and the successor-son of longtime Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. The younger Muhammad completely transformed his father's group when he assumed leadership in 1975, bringing it in line with orthodox Islamic teaching, and since Seifullah was a member of the security hierarchy during that transition, he got an insider's view. "W.D. Muhammad's inconsistent policy and his de-emphasis of nationalism forced me to reject his leadership," Seifullah said. Farrakhan himself served under W.D. Muhammad for two years before breaking away to re-embrace Elijah's race-oriented teachings.

"When the honorable Elijah Muhammad passed in 1975, there was a vacuum left in black America," Seifullah recounted, explaining his return to the fold. "Black people got dispirited and we quietly watched as our communities deteriorated right before our eyes. There was no voice speaking out for the black masses. Civil rights organizations did nothing but talk about how helpless we were without the white man's welfare programs. It was sickening. Just look at how Farrakhan has got the masses of black people stirred up again since he's been rebuilding the Nation."

Although Clarence Page, a columnist and editorial board member of the *Chicago Tribune*, does not agree with many of Seifullah's NOI beliefs, he said he understands why such beliefs are attractive to some blacks. "The Reagan administration is changing the priorities of the body politics and blacks feel a lot of frustration. What's more, the Reaganites are openly ridiculing civil rights leadership and treating them as if they're irrelevant. Now here comes Farrakhan who's telling Reagan and company that black people are not helpless pawns but powerful brokers of their own destinies. Farrakhan is feeding on some deep frustrations."

Don Wycliff, a *New York Times* reporter who has covered Farrakhan for more than a decade, said he is popular because "he assures blacks they are strong, intelligent and capable, not doomed to permanent victimization but destined for success and power. He argues that black freedom and self-sufficiency does not depend on the charity of others but on the action of blacks themselves. Farrakhan's success with that message is at least partly the fault of mainstream black leaders." Wycliff said the reluctance to denounce him stems from these leaders' desire to "applaud the morale-boosting generalization that a self-willed salvation is possible" for blacks.

Farrakhan's popularity places most black leadership in a true quandary. Urged, on one hand, to renounce his openly racist sentiments, these leaders must nonetheless be careful not to tarnish his positive contributions. "In many ways, black leadership is being placed between a rock and a hard place in terms of their response to Farrakhan and his cleverly devised messages," said Wilbert A. Tatum, chairman and editor in chief of the black-owned *New York Amsterdam News*. He noted that worsening conditions in this country's black communities provide "bones of contention upon which any demagogue could seize—and Farrakhan has capitalized upon them, because they were there and too few were doing anything about them."

Farrakhan has already had a negative impact on at least one political candidate, Rev. Jesse Jackson. He may also have had an influence on the upcoming gubernatorial campaign of Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, who refused to join Jewish leaders in repudiating Farrakhan before the NOI leader's September speech in L.A.

Denunciation of Farrakhan is rapidly becoming a kind of all-purpose litmus test blacks must pass before they are considered fit for political office. "I hope this is not coming to the point where, if blacks in South Africa have to carry a passbook to go from place to place, that black Americans have to carry their last statements refuting Farrakhan," complained Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-NY), who represents Harlem.

It seems clear that as his influence in-

creases Farrakhan will continue to haunt all but the most nationalistic black politicians. Illinois Rep. Savage is perhaps the only black politician of national stature to support him without qualification. Jackson has pulled back from Farrakhan's embrace, but still refuses to condemn him. "Everybody under the sun has urged Rev. Jackson to denounce Farrakhan," revealed Jackson aide Frank Watkins, "and the answer is always 'no comment.'"

Classic anti-Semitism

The late Elijah Muhammad made few specific references to Jewish people during his reign as NOI patriarch. And when he did it was usually as a theological analogy. Jews were simply classified as white, and all whites were "blue-eyed devils" in NOI doctrine. In Muhammad's books, *Message to the Blackman* and *The Fall of America*, most references to Jews were biblical parallels comparing ancient Babylon's treatment of Jews to America's treatment of blacks. NOI members were also told that Jews were the only people whose food was pure enough to eat. Elijah's references to Zionism were generally allegorical and bereft of political considerations.

Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican-born black nationalist who was one of Elijah Muhammad's major ideological mentors, was himself a strong supporter of Zionism. The Old Testament accounts of the Mosaic mission figured heavily in Garvey's messianic imagery. In fact, 65 years ago, in the very same Madison Square Garden that Farrakhan filled on October 7, Garvey told his followers that he was "fully in sympathy with the Zionist movement" and that it had, in part, inspired his own Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

Farrakhan actually stumbled into the anti-Jewish controversy during Jackson's presidential campaign last year. He had offered to provide Jackson protection against threats that were reportedly made by the Jewish Defense League (JDL), and Jackson thought it was a good idea. Things heated up after a speech Farrakhan made in which he warned Jews to lay off Jackson. Then came the radio broadcast speech in which he referred to Hitler as a great man. The outcry generated by that reference was a bit ironic. It was standard NOI rhetoric to use the story of Hitler's rise as a cautionary tale to blacks about the dangers of integration. Jews also thought they had integrated into Germany, NOI members were taught, but Hitler exposed that illusion.

Farrakhan's reference to a "dirty religion" was not contextually referring to Judaism, but rather to Zionists' attempts to use religious rationalizations for their occupation of Palestine. But the intemperance of his language outraged Jews, increased his notoriety and provoked a circle-the-wagons mentality among many in the black community. "Nobody likes to be told what to do, or who to denounce, notwithstanding

the fact that they probably would have done it anyway," said Rep. Rangel.

Rev. Calvin O. Butts, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, put it another way. "I know Farrakhan's rhetoric turns some people off, but he attacks a lot of people other than Jews. Some of his sharpest barbs are aimed at the black church and black ministers. Suppose I demanded that all Jewish leaders denounce Israel because of its refusal to impose sanctions on South Africa or oppose apartheid? How many Jewish leaders would join me?" he asked.

But Farrakhan has since tapped into a rich vein of anti-Jewish sentiments and he now makes statements that are indistinguishable from those expressing classic anti-Semitism. In the Garden he quoted some of the same Bible verses that are used by the "Christian Identity" movement (the religious underpinnings for various neo-Nazi groups) to provide theological justification for hatred of Jews.

In comparing himself to Jesus, Farrakhan told the Garden crowd that "Jesus had a controversy with the Jews. Farrakhan has a controversy with the Jews. Jesus was hated by the Jews. Farrakhan is hated by the Jews."

As the crowd cheered, stomped and waved their arms in support, Farrakhan added, "I am your last chance, Jews. You can't say 'never again' to God, 'cause when He puts you in an oven, you are in one indeed!"

Changes?

Black activists have long speculated that Farrakhan would eventually soften the more racist and abrasive aspects of his message in a bid for wider support, and in his Garden lecture he offered a glimmer of hope that such was the case. He repeated Martin Luther King's famous quote about not judging people "by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character," and he conceded that NOI doctrine may have inspired racism among some adherents.

But Farrakhan has to walk a fine line. His legitimacy as a NOI leader is still measured by his devotion to Elijah Muhammad's fundamental message. If he deviates too far, too soon, he could lose his hardcore following, some of whom still harbor suspicions that his motives are not entirely selfless.

The dissolution of Imam W.D. Muhammad's Muslim Mission (AMM)—the largest of the several groups that splintered off Elijah's nation and the primary source of organized Islamic opposition to Farrakhan—has increased his influence for several reasons. First of all, it has eliminated the organized opposition to his Islamic credentials. It has also allowed Farrakhan to incorporate AMM elements into his group without sparking charges of capitulation to Warith's vision. Most important, he is the beneficiary of the popular but erroneous notion that the AMM died because of its deficiencies while the NOI thrives because of the truth.

W.D. Muhammad recently announced that he will embark on a nation-wide speaking tour to counter Farrakhan's "messages of racism and hate." Because of his low-key, professorial speaking style and the absence of scapegoats in his rhetoric, however, it's doubtful Muhammad will draw the kind of crowds that regularly greet the Louis Farrakhan show. ■

LETTERS

Good news

I WANT TO REPORT A VERY GRATIFYING EXPERIENCE following the appearance of my recent letter in *In These Times* (Sept. 18) detailing some of the brutalities of the Reagan-sponsored *contras* in Nicaragua, and the hardships inflicted on the people here. The letter dealt especially with the work of two friends teaching in a school in Managua that combines literacy classes with a pilot program in modern agricultural techniques.

But this year there are no funds to run this or any other pilot program, and the students—mostly from far-off in the mountains—get 200 *cordabas* (30 cents) a month to buy food. My friends Miguel and Isiais use most of their salaries to help feed the students, but there is not enough to go around. The program is in danger of closing down.

My letter asked for help—and the response was incredible! Our first goal was to raise \$1,000 to keep the school going—essentially to feed the students. We have already surpassed \$4,000 and money is still coming in from *ITT* readers.

The additional money will go toward building housing for the rural students and expanding the affiliated primary school that is currently running on *triple* session and is without bathrooms or running water.

Needless to say, I am deeply appreciative of this response and thankful to the *ITT* readers who opened their hearts to the courageous people of Nicaragua.

Beth Stephens
Managua, Nicaragua

Sticking point

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S RECENT REPORT ON the nuclear front from Geneva (*ITT*,

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

Sept. 18) is no doubt totally accurate as to U.S. bellicosity, USSR flexibility and the other points she makes. But with that said, some insuperable obstacles remain to superpower arms control that transcend the present player-leaders of those two unhappy countries. The ultimate sticking point is not verification or lack of will, but what from across the nuclear ramparts looks like a mutual desire for superiority, and looked at domestically in each country is a mortal fear of being aced by a breakout on the other side.

The basic frustrating difficulty is the one that has existed from the start of arms control talks, and has resulted in loop-holed inconsequential agreements under previous presidents, and in none under our current one. It is not only that each country has a crazy-quilt arsenal of weapons and delivery means, but that the parties are haggling over bargaining chips of unknown value, and each offers only lopsided proposals which are quickly rejected, or else cosmetic ones while both continue their perpetual modernization of the arsenals. No one on earth knows how to measure these arsenals or how to make trade-offs.

There are the throw-weight freaks, the large and the small missile and warhead freaks, the air, sea or land cruise freaks, the silo and the mobile freaks, and now the Reagan anti-missile defense freaks. If the equation was incomprehensible with the jumble of attack weapons, it becomes a mystery wrapped in an enigma with the

introduction of defensive arms still in their bandboxes untested in actual warfare.

Of course, neither side can admit the true state of affairs, so the U.S. tries to cover up by painting the Soviets as villains, and the USSR plays on the openness of Western society by alternately blowing hot and cold. In both cases, these superpowers, so-called, remain helpless giants with their nuclear arsenals chained to their legs, and unable to free themselves from their trauma.

The earth, however, also belongs to the non-superpower nations, and as it becomes clearer and clearer that their fate too is tied to this mad situation, they will have to start using their leverage to unchain the giants. If the nuclear arsenals are a bunch of dangerous junk, then the giants should be pressured to deep-six the whole mess simultaneously, and to take an oath to never touch a drop of the stuff again. Those in the belly of the giants can help by creating as much indigestion as possible.

Robert L. Kealy
Milwaukee

Education or 'schooling'?

I N FURTHERANCE OF SALIM MUWAKKIL'S well-balanced story on black test scores (*ITT*, Oct 2): in my experience, a chief confusion is in our identification of education as "schooling" and of intelligence as "cognitive ability."

Education is the process of learning to live effectively. Intelligence is the totality of information-gathering and decision-making processes. There is no single or simple standard to judge either by. But more to the point, public judgment is not called for—is, in fact, an invasion of privacy—except for purposes of employment.

It seems to me that the most important missing ingredient in our educational system is the involvement of caring, intelligent adults (in addition to professional teachers of cognitive skills). The chief mechanism for accomplishing this is the welcoming of young people into our daily work lives instead of shuttling them off to those child-ghettos called schools, only to join us for leisure activity.

Richard Stone
Fresno, Calif.

Go for it

DAVID CORN'S "THE BOSS' OTHER AMERICA" (*ITT*, Sept. 25) is convincing. I agree with his article, and with his suggestion that Springsteen follow Reagan's footsteps to the White House.

But "having a good time" is not merely "something else in Springsteen's corner." Rather, it is the essence of his message—"I'm just a prisoner of rock'n'roll"—and the left needs to better understand it.

Springsteen addresses the fundamental lack of self-respect that permeates this country. He insists that ordinary people are good, and should follow their spirit and do what they want to do, not what anyone tells them to do. If you want it, go for it, he says.

Having pursued the American Dream and now being able to buy whatever he might want to buy, he has apparently discovered that the more deeply one delves into the realms of self-satisfaction, the more one becomes aware of being connected to all of humanity and even the cosmos. Indulging in personal pleasures can lead to liberating politics, but being addicted to self-sacrifice almost surely

leads to oppressive politics.

As explored so well in the film *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, there is no irreconcilable contradiction between self-satisfaction and political action. The best politics is not motivated by guilt or power trips, but by the awareness that "nobody wins unless everybody wins," as Bruce puts it.

The liberation that can come from being a "prisoner" of the free spirit, "rock and roll," is a paradoxical insight that unfortunately seems virtually absent from most every political organization, and was almost missing from Corn's otherwise fine article. "Fun," or satisfaction, is not the "flip side," as Corn says. It is primary.

Wade Hudson
San Francisco

Heavy stuff

DINO JOSEPH DRUDI'S LETTER (OCT. 2) IS, to put it politely, shocking. Two years before entering the peace movement in 1982, I was a confused, desperate 20-year-old bumbling my way through survival in the darkside of Houston, Texas. I was homeless, penniless, subject to exploitation by high-profit-making day labor corporations. The spiritual and moral destruction of poverty worked its way on me, as it did on my colleagues. In a single week, social conditioning had broken down enough to allow me to steal lunch meat from a neighborhood Safeway store.

In jail, I was surrounded by alcoholics, drug addicts, violence—coming from a WASP background, this was heavy stuff. Luck was with me; jail and the vicious cycle of the "criminal justice system" did not take over my life. I got off the streets. This was early education for my present incarceration. I'm presently in jail for Plowshares-style anti-nuclear activism. But in between serving time, I helped feed, clothe and shelter people on the bottom—with or without homes. I don't totally understand it, but there is a 400-year-old lack of hope and surplus of wasted talent and ambition, 400 years' frustration, hunger and hatred for a stacked-deck society.

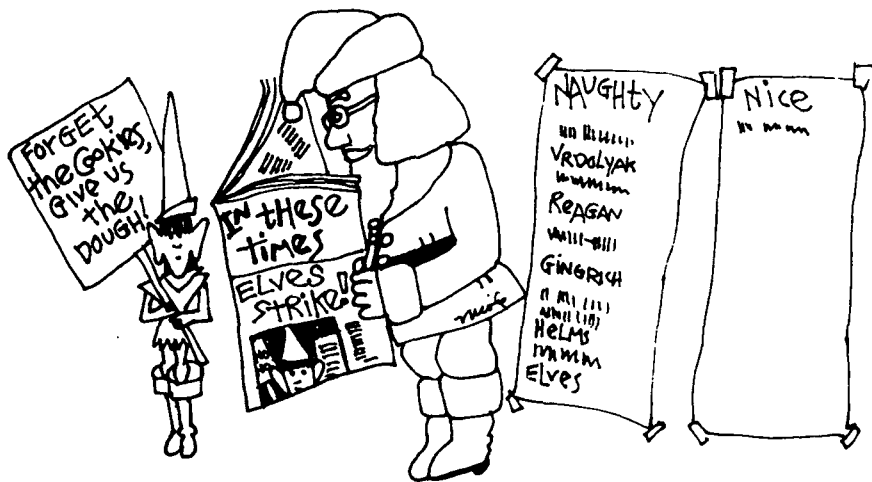
Drudi does not seem to comprehend this, or care. Is it the socialist ideal that only citizens who behave correctly enter into the kingdom? Is a change to socialism—or any other alternative to the present U.S. system—going to be a bloodless coup? Drudi sounds like Edwin Meese, a member of a social class just as much a blood-sucking minority as that which rules South Africa. The poor are a majority in this world of ours, condemned to performing acts they too abhor for mere survival. Their reality, their voice in the debate concerning a new society, has more relevance than the clearest psychobabble you can dare offer them with a straight face.

More prisons, longer sentences, capital punishment: a domestic parallel to nuclear deterrence, as MAD a policy as any I've ever heard. Jesus sided with them, Gandhi worked to liberate them (the untouchables), Eisenhower told us guns and bullets are thefts from the poor. A change to a more decentralized system, a commitment to real justice for a 400-year-old underclass—that is only a road to eventual solution of a millenia-old problem. Our most deeply held attitudes and beliefs must not lag behind that change—or whatever philosophy each of us is cloaked in will be rendered meaningless.

Thornton Kimes
Great Falls, Mont.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Illustration by Nicole Hollander



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PERSPECTIVE

Saturn deal is bad for unions



By Mike Parker

IN AN INTERNAL MEMO, DEPUTY Assistant Secretary of Labor Stephen Schlossberg describes the contract between the United Auto Workers and General Motors Saturn Corporation as "truly historic." Schlossberg, who union leaders regard as their man at the Labor Department, says the agreement "holds the potential to be a model for labor relations not only in the auto industry, but among other durable goods manufacturers in a similar situation." Most analysts agree. Yet features of what is being touted as the model for the future should sound danger ahead to unionists.

Even UAW leaders who praise what they call new breakthroughs for labor implicitly acknowledge the danger by their repeated insistence that the contract will not serve as precedent for any other negotiations. In fact, UAW President Owen Bieber inserted a letter to that effect in the contract. But, unlike all the other letters included in the contract, this one is not "accepted and approved" by the other party. GM Chairman Roger Smith has publicly announced his goal to "Saturnize" GM within 15 years. Even before the Saturn agreement was concluded Chrysler and American Motors asked for "me too" contracts. Unlike the union, the corporations seem to have little problem in unambiguously embracing the "breakthrough."

Saturn is supposed to be about worker participation, yet the contract was concluded before a single worker covered by the contract was hired. The union leadership bypassed the union's GM Council, which is supposed to approve GM contracts, and has attempted to keep discussions away from the membership. Some experienced union leaders, like Victor Reuther, Walter's brother, have criticized the secrecy. In fact, only thanks to Pete Kelly, president of the UAW Local 160 in Warren, Mich., who released the contract, do UAW members have any knowledge at all of this model for the future of American unionism.

What the contract does

The Saturn contract is couched in the language of democracy and participation. But the specifics provide for the destruction of independent democratic institutions in the plant by changing the structure

and role of the union. For example, the projected Tennessee complex will consist of several plants. Under the traditional UAW-GM contract, a plant with one thousand employees would have seven full-time in-plant representatives (committeepersons) and an independent in-plant union organization. Under Saturn there will be only one such representative, called the "UAW Business Unit Advisor." The loss of the in-plant union representation closest to the workers' problems combined with the choice of title for the sole union functionary is a clear indication of the new primary union role: to help manage.

The UAW says that its major achievement in Saturn is the "new degree of co-determination." "The union will be a full partner in all decisions from the shop floor to the top level," says Bieber. "No decision can be made, no action taken, without agreement by the workers." But that isn't what the contract says. Work teams will hold meetings and take responsibility for meeting production, housekeeping, quality and scrap goals as well as have a role in disciplining members. The one full-time union official in each plant will serve on the top management committee of the plant, which sets all of these goals. (In addition, the one "UAW Manufacturing Advisory Committee Advisor" will work with top Tennessee complex management and one representative of the UAW national leadership will advise top corporate management.)

When a union, however strong, conceives of itself as management's partner, there are heavy pressures toward cooptation, loss of union purpose and isolation of the leaders from the members. But the specifics of Saturn leave little to chance.

Well-known experiments on conformity and group norms by such psychologists as Sherif and Asch indicate the likely result. In one experiment under normal circumstances subjects could correctly identify which of three lines was the same as a fourth line 99 percent of the time. But when placed in a small group where all others answered incorrectly, the number of subjects answering correctly fell to 60 percent. Even in the case of simple physical perceptions the power of group pressure is enormous.

As the issues become more complicated and the lines fuzzier, imagine the pressures to conform on a lone union representative trying to participate on a manage-

Workers at a GM plant. The new Saturn contract between the UAW and GM gives management full flexibility—a polite word for power.

ment committee. Further, special "consensus" rules written into the contract place the responsibility on the minority (i.e. union) to break any impasse by finding solutions acceptable to the majority and be "totally committed" to the decisions of the management committee. In addition, the lone union representative will not have the same access to knowledge and resources and there will be minimum in-plant union organization behind him or her. Saturn is an impressive formula for cooptation, not representation or power-sharing.

Management power

The new contract also gives management full flexibility—a polite word for power in the jargon of labor-management relations. To assure a cooperative, acquiescent workforce applicants will undergo extensive psychological tests and detailed screening of employment histories. In making assignments management will not need to be concerned with job classifications, trade lines, work rules and seniority, which traditionally have afforded rank-and-file members and union representatives some rights and power on the shop floor.

Those contract sections billed as protections for workers turn out to be meaning-

less or depend on management benevolence. For example, the job security provisions apply to only 80 percent of the employees and do not cover even these in cases of "unforeseen or catastrophic events or severe economic conditions."

The trade-off is clear. The union gives up its organizational strength and independence from the company in exchange for membership dues, identification with the company and a union "say in management," which turns out to be either nebulous or dangerous to the workers.

The consequences of this kind of unionism reach far beyond the plant. It certainly does not help a union mobilize its members in acts of solidarity with other unions or in anti-corporate political campaigns. It leads the opposite way. The location of Saturn was considered such a prize that it prompted the embarrassing and well-publicized bidding war. Victory went to a state known for anti-labor legislation including "right-to-work." The decision was also widely seen as a repudiation of the more pro-labor political climate in Michigan and may have seriously hurt politicians regarded as labor's friend. If the UAW approved Tennessee it was at the expense of labor's political influence. If the UAW leadership believes "right-to-work" laws are unimportant because GM is willing to recognize the UAW in advance, giving the prize to the political climate of Tennessee is a slap in the face to every other union that has to try to organize members. The supplier parts plants that the Saturn concept requires to locate in the surrounding area will doubtless take full advantage of Tennessee laws to resist unionizing. But if the UAW had no say in the critical decision of plant location, what is the meaning of "partnership" in Saturn?

Even the belief that the union won 6000 new jobs will prove short-sighted. GM has already put in motion its plans to import the bulk of its future small car line. Saturn is mainly valuable to GM as a way to perfect and then spread its new kind of labor relations to the entire auto industry. If the corporations succeed in using Saturn to blackjack, whipsaw, cajole or convince unions into accepting similar work rules and job combinations throughout industry, the resulting job loss will far exceed the gains at the Tennessee location.

The classic "company union" at least had to keep up the pretense of independence from management. Saturn drops this pretense. There is no room in Saturn for any organized dissent, let alone pluralism. Without rules, there are no individual rights. Workers who don't fit are weeded out. Rather than providing workers with the ability to check management authority, the union becomes another arm of management power.

Mike Parker writes regularly for Labor Notes and is the author of Inside the Circle: A Union Guide to QWL (Labor Notes/South End Press).

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PERSPECTIVE

By Alex Amerisov

AFTER YEARS OF DEMANDING both the United States and the Soviet Union to come forth with some serious initiative that would break a spiral of nuclear build-up, the Peace Movement finds itself unable to come out vigorously in support of the Soviet peace efforts and condemn Reagan's response to them.

The August 6 moratorium on all testing of nuclear weapons, which the Soviet Union unilaterally imposed upon itself two months ago, is a case in point. It was proclaimed by many in the U.S. to be a "historic opportunity," "the last chance" to place a padlock on the nuclear arms race.

But simple recognition of the importance of the Soviet step is not enough. The movement should have responded to this extraordinary measure with an extraordinary show of support for it. This

To react meekly now without publicly denouncing Reagan's position is to say good-bye to the peace movement as we know it.

has not happened.

The moratorium will last until the New Year. If the U.S. responds in kind by that time, we will have effectively put a stop to development of any new nuclear weapons on earth or in space. If not, 1986 will be a year that we and generations to come will deeply regret.

For more than a year, such organizations as the Center of Defense Information, headed by Rear-Admiral Gene LaRoque, petitioned the governments of the USSR and the U.S. to stop tests. When, on July 29, Mikhail Gorbachov announced that the government of the USSR unilaterally would do just that as of August 6, this exposed the Soviet Union to a great risk and potential huge economic losses.

It has been a longstanding position of the Soviet Union that any comprehensive ban on nuclear tests must include American allies—first of all Britain. The USSR

Soviet freeze offers missed opportunities

has no allies with nuclear weapons. And if Britain continued sharing test-data with the U.S., the Soviet Union would be forced to break the moratorium, causing itself great embarrassment and worldwide condemnation. Nevertheless, in announcing its August 6 moratorium, the Soviet Union has made its continuation dependent only on U.S. compliance. Referring to Britain and France, Gorbachov has said only that it is his hope that other nuclear powers will "follow a good example" set by the U.S. and USSR. This is a risky position for the Soviet Union to take, but they did it.

The Soviet ban on nuclear tests covers explosions for peaceful purposes, too. About 40 percent of Soviet explosions are to create underground cavities to store natural gas. Approximately 75 percent of the USSR's hard currency earnings comes from exports of gas and oil. Recently, oil production has been declining and gas exports have increased. To stop creating these cavities may mean having to start burning unsold gas again—a multimillion dollar waste.

In response, Reagan has started a campaign of slander and lies. Despite numerous appeals from peace groups to stop "distortion" of Soviet initiatives, the campaign to increase mistrust toward "Russians" has intensified in order to dampen any rise of hope on the part of the American public. The Soviet initiative was called a "propaganda ploy," "public relations," an "attempt to corner the U.S.," "pre-summit games," etc. Newspapers and TV jumped on the bandwagon, playing their part in Reagan's game of "We don't brainwash—repeat after me!" The "free press" once again became an "official press."

Equal responsibility

The leadership of the Peace Movement gets upset when they are told that their response is neither sufficient nor credible. They should get upset, but with themselves. What are they doing that they have not done before? What are they doing to respond to this extraordinary "window of opportunity"?

Let's see what the Freeze is doing. They haven't called for mass street actions or public nationwide conferences and rallies. They keep on riding the old horse of education, lobbying and prayer vigils. Sounds good, but it's irrelevant to the August 6

moratorium, which will end in three months. The best time to get Reagan to follow the Soviet example is before the Geneva Summit on November 19. The most effective measure in such a situation is condemnation of Reagan's position through ads in major papers and massive street marches in Washington, New York and other major cities. The central thrust of the protest should be condemnation of Reagan as the one who bears full responsibility for the current escalation of hostility.

In my conversations with some of the leaders of the movement, I found them unable to bring themselves to do it. They

This is manipulative. Either you believe that Reagan deserves support for what he is going to do in Geneva or you don't. It is also highly presumptuous on the part of these "strategists" to believe that they have power to "raise public expectations." Mind you, this is said by the same people who tell us that they are not heard because the press ignores them.

Will you forgive yourself?

Instead of freezing the bomb, the American Peace Movement is frozen itself. For years, we, the supporters of nuclear disarmament (East and West) have hoped for an initiative coming from either the Soviet Union or the United States that would allow for a real breakthrough in the arms race. This initiative has come. It came from the Center for Defense Information—an American-based organization headed by retired Rear-Admiral Gene R. LaRoque. It was enthusiastically received by the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachov, but Reagan greeted the



say "Reagan is too popular," they say "to condemn him would hurt our image." Why should the Peace Movement be concerned with its image?

To do good today means to undermine Reagan's popularity. We are the "solution"—not him. To react meekly now without publicly denouncing Reagan's position is to say goodbye to the Peace Movement as we know it and undergo a prolonged period of readjustment. A movement that can state a problem but provides no solution for it has a short life span. Also, the credibility of the present leadership of the movement will be brought to nil with their counterparts in Eastern Europe, especially in the Soviet Union.

Of all the things that the Freeze Campaign has decided to do, the most spineless is their drive to collect one million signatures on a petition for a nuclear test ban. Who is it addressed to? One of the addressees is Ronald Reagan, another is Mikhail Gorbachov. Why Gorbachov? Hasn't he already made the move the petition asks to be made? Weren't his actions the very stimuli for this petition? Doesn't it mean that sending the petition to both, one guilty and another blameless, undermines the moral impact on the one who is intransigent?

Freeze leaders do this to maintain "evenhandedness," so as not to look "pro-Russian" or "unpatriotic." Back in the spring, organizations like SANE started exploratory talks with various "image makers" to correct this image. Instead of educating people to correct the prevalent misconceptions, they are trying to build a movement that could only be deeply anti-intellectual, one that is afraid of thinking.

Their strategy is to appear "supportive of the president, but to do everything possible to raise public expectations of what can be accomplished in Geneva" (*Nuclear Times*, Sept.).

moratorium as another Soviet ploy to put the U.S. at a disadvantage. Now it is alleged that nuclear explosions cannot be verified. But detection of any nuclear explosion presents no problem. If we cannot verify this, what can we verify?

Instead of accusing Reagan of spreading a Big Lie, the Peace Movement has become quiet on this issue. Why? Because it is "unpatriotic" to accuse one's own government when it is clearly in the wrong and when the "enemy" is clearly in the right? Those who have suffered in the Soviet Union in the struggle for democracy, peace and freedom, who have spent time in prisons, mental institutions, internal and external exiles, appeal to Americans of good will, those who have marched, written petitions, donated money and taken an active part in the struggle for international peace...please renew your efforts right now and with greater vigor!

Time is running out! The November summit in Geneva must bring a ban on further development of nuclear weaponry. If it fails to do so, the Soviet Union will respond in kind to American intransigence. In February of next year, they finish a formulation of a new five-year plan that will give much more money to the military. The moratorium on nuclear tests is the real, concrete measure effectively to hinder any further advancement in building of atomic weapons!

If we stand by and let this chance pass, we forever forfeit the claim to be earnest supporters of peace. All polls show that the vast majority of Americans support peace and nuclear freeze as the first step toward it. Reagan's government finds it possible to disregard this demand, making a mockery of the word "democracy"! The hope of the Soviet people, the hope of entire humanity is pinned on progressive Americans. Speak up! Those that keep silent before Dec. 31, 1985, may have to do so forever!

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The Accidental Tourist
By Anne Tyler
Knopf, 355 pp., \$16.95

By Paul Skenazy

IF YOU HAVEN'T READ ANNE Tyler, you're missing something. Her nine previous novels have established her as a sort of poet laureate of those incidental events and circumstantial details that give substance to our days. She writes about the periodic rains that dampen the most waterproof of spirits, the small cracks and fissures that threaten the foundations of seemingly solid lives.

Her eccentric and disconnected individuals, and families who express their love more often through arguments than hugs, have turned the humid streets and alleyways of Baltimore into a fictional neighborhood full of surprise and appeal.

The Accidental Tourist is a characteristic Tyler fiction, a book so charming that it takes time to realize that its story of self-discovery is embedded in mourning and pain. Macon Leary's world is collapsing. His son Ethan was senselessly killed a year before during a robbery at a Burger bonanza. Sarah, his wife of 20 years, has just announced that she is leaving him because she can no longer endure the system of routines and rituals by which he protects himself from despair.

Adrift and afraid and unable to admit it, Macon wanders forlornly through his days. He isolates himself from neighbors and friends, works fitfully and pretends to relieve his confusion by inventing new and more efficient methods to clean his clothes, eat his breakfast and arrange the bedsheets. He is stupidly firm with everyone around him except Ethan's dog Edward, an inept creature who snarls back at a proffered hand as Macon wishes he could.

A broken leg frees Macon from the drudgery of his private loneliness and gives him an excuse to move in with his sister Rose and two divorced brothers, where he thankfully succumbs to their protective care. But his secure convalescence is cut short by Muriel Pritchett, a frizzy-haired dog trainer from the Meow-Bow Animal Hospital who enters his life at the other end of Edward's leash.

Macon is drawn to her ornery and obstinate way of taking on the world, repulsed by her pushiness and taste. When Sarah wants to return to him, he has to resist the passive stupor he yearns for and try to determine his future in the form of a mate, recognizing for the first time in his life that "you can only choose what to lose."

This too predictable love triangle works as well as it does only because of Tyler's wily way of detailing the haphazard course of Macon's divided affections. Everyone in the book has a bit of fine madness to interest us. Macon and his siblings are "the kind of family that always fastens their seat-belts." They go through life looking for things to organize or repair. They arrange food alphabetically on their shelves, correct everyone else's grammar and make up a card game called Vaccination with complicated rules that exclude outsiders as if they were virulent germs.

Geographic dyslexia

Despite what Macon refers to as his family's "geographic dyslexia," he makes his living as the



Peter Hannan

FICTION

Traveling through life without guidebooks

anonymous author of the "Accidental Tourist," a series of guidebooks on cities around the world for people who want to "pretend they never left home." He tells his readers how they can

She lives by doing things for others—training their dogs, running a shopping service, curing lovelorn males of their emotional woes. She's never been on a plane, makes up jingles to try to win mail-

tion is more confining than protective. He begins to think that "who you are when you're with somebody may matter more than whether you love her."

Light and breezy

The Accidental Tourist is such fun to read that I feel hesitant being critical, but this is not as powerful or satisfying a work as *Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant* or some of Tyler's other, earlier novels (*Celestial Navigation*, *Searching for Caleb*). Everything is a little too light and breezy. Wonderful scenes (the dinners are especially good) alternate with flat moments and become lost in the casual storytelling voice. The ending of the novel seems somehow misshapen, too abrupt; not only Macon's choices between Sarah and Muriel, but the choices Tyler herself makes of locale and incident to portray his series of decisions.

Tyler is overly clever in the way she depicts Macon's and Muriel's mutual reconstruction through surrogates: she awakens him to life as she trains Edward to mind, he tames her wildness as he instructs Alexander at plumbing and redoes the child's wardrobe. The parallelism is too tidy, tedious in the telling.

Accidental Tourist lacks the daring conception of individual fate as part of a dense network of love and obligation binding life to life that comes through so convinc-

Tyler balances her intense realization of life's sadness and unfairness with a buoyant faith, a delight in our impractical yet soothing ways of coping with misery.

avoid contact with the locals, where they can find ham and eggs or a Quarter Pounder, where they can sleep on a Sealy.

Convinced that "some [people] lived careful lives and some lived careless lives, and everything that happened could be explained by the difference between them," he hates disorder, fears change, is terrified of the unknown and even avoids new restaurants or unfamiliar areas of Baltimore. As Sarah says, he lives a "muffled" life as an accidental visitor to his own fate.

Muriel is Macon's opposite, all sharp angles and unattractive manners: loud colors, a whiny voice, an ugly and unadorned house in which nothing works as it should.

in contests, loves thrift shops and flea markets. She talks constantly (Macon realizes that she uses words "as a sort of background music"). Her son is a walking allergy chart, and all the men she meets sooner or later desert her. "Good at spotting the chance," as she likes to brag, she makes do by bartering services with the neighbors.

But Muriel is able to see kindness in a world that bruises her, while Macon lives suspiciously, wishing he might cover his whole body with a cast like the one on his leg. She works on his fastidiousness like a counterirritant, "webbing his mind with her stories" until he is drawn to what he calls her "fierceness" and finds that his isolating envelope of cau-

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ingly in the multiple, accumulative biographies that make up *Homesick Restaurant*. While many of the individual glimpses of family and friends that we get throughout this novel are superb, they tend to be much briefer than the portraits Tyler provides in her other books. In consequence, the love triangle remains more detached from its environment and, alone on the stage, neither Muriel nor Macon ever seems a big enough figure to carry the weight of the plot.

Finally, although I love Tyler's habit of conveying despair through plumbing leaks, barking dogs, disarray in the food cabinet or problems choosing a couch, the bouncy way she deflects rage and terror into the commonplace can sometimes belittle life's very real horrors.

On the other hand, you're not likely to find a more genial, yet wise, tale of love, self-recognition and the restoration of feeling than *The Accidental Tourist* for quite a while. The novel seems destined for the best-seller list. Tyler balances her intense realization of life's sadness and unfairness with a buoyant faith, a delight in our impractical yet soothing ways of coping with misery. The story is restorative, filled with quiet discoveries and the kinds of mild recognitions that allow people to survive the humdrum and overcome, or at least get over, the painful.

One hears the author's voice mingling with Macon's as he realizes "that every little roof concealed actual lives." And when he eventually decides that it is "heartening" to think that people "try to be as responsible and kind as they can manage," we believe in his hard-won humanity.

Tourist has the same kind of twang as those country-western songs Muriel loves so much: a piercing nasal complaint that is not so much defeated as animated by still another proof of human inconstancy. Tyler reminds us that our neighbors are as privileged in their eccentricities as we are in ours, that most of us are a bit more battered than we'd wish if less maimed than we'd sometimes like to believe, and that there's more than enough suffering in anyone's experience to wear down one's sympathies—or call forth one's curiosity.

Mostly, she demonstrates once again what one can discover traveling without guidebooks, along those unknown trails the human heart inevitably stumbles across as it more or less blindly seeks its way.

Paul Skenazy teaches literature at University of California at Santa Cruz.

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Jerry Kearns "Talking Heads" shows the personal anguish a couple haunted by decapitated victims of a Salvadoran death squad.

By Lucy Lippard

ART

Tragi-comix: art in search of new symbols

I WANT TO MAKE ART WITH the energy of rock and roll," says Jerry Kearns. Don't we all, even though nobody expects that driving rhythm from art. Kearns' show at Exit Art in New York is a good place to get acquainted with what painting can do in the intersection between high and popular culture. His big, bright, violent, disturbing images operate on several levels of contemporary myth, highlighting personal dilemma against a backdrop of public perfidy.

Kearns combines hugely enlarged half-tone-dotted newsphotos of social "reality" and the brilliant flatness of social "fantasy"—cartoon imagery drawn from '50s comics. But unlike most post-pop, his madness has a motive. In *Naked Brunch*, a handsome couple in tattered clothes hunker down in a khaki lifeboat, gnawing desperately on raw fish, while behind them looms the giant head of the Statue of Liberty (under reconstruction), overlooking both their plight and its own promise.

In *No More Nice Girls*, the Lincoln Monument is also serenely oblivious as a cartooned little girl sneaks by carrying a Chinese take-out carton with Mao's portrait on it. In *Three Mile Rapture*, the monuments are the cooling towers at Three Mile Island; in front of them, a terrified small boy hurtles past onto a ground already occupied by a writhing man staked to the earth.

Kearns' monochrome monuments are a reminder of hegemony, a memory of control, a contradiction of romanticized ideals. They stand in for the state of the union while the cartoon protagonists, uprooted from their original narrative contexts, are funny, pathetic stand-ins for "us." Children become symbols of human vulnerability.

The exaggerated innocence and villainy of tragi-comix overstate contemporary agony, as the news understates, distorts or controls it. Their juxtaposition evokes the mixture of complacency and desperation that characterizes Reaganom-

ics. Irrational violence vies with a combative consciousness through the two mediums—through monochrome and multi-color, dots and lines, "fact" and "fiction," remote technology, the intimate artist's hand.

Kearns is a consummate formalist and his montages transcend an easily achieved Surrealist "dream imagery" to become pure, shared nightmare. Fear of death and rage against oppression, bonded by an intelligent insecurity, are the dominant emotions in his paintings. He sees art as a means of self-transformation, prerequisite to social transformation; he sees himself as "a romantic, an idealist, a populist" trying to portray "the turbulent sub-text that's too often glossed over by the dominant culture."

Most of Kearns' works can be read on at least two levels. The first is basic social protest against specific global ills, with Reagan, Meese, Casey and Koch playing the villainous leads. The second concerns personal conflicts and contradictions that make every choice a quandary, especially for the politically committed artist straddling classes and cultures.

Kearns' leading men are often sandwiched between needs, desires and principles. In the big, chaotic *This Ain't No Disco*, a depressed looking "unemployed" man sits on a bench in middle ground. Behind him, as on a movie screen, is the partly hidden comic head of Our Leader and before him, a skull-headed Nazi general has just divested his limp Reagan mask while a glamorous couple kisses passionately in a circle of flames. The words "Tick Tock Tick Tock" are scattered through the middle space. Time is flying. Everyman is living a grim

reality while surrounded by imposed fantasies. He is trapped between an apocalyptic future and a retrogressive present.

The raw edges of ambivalence about America, the future, and sexual relationships are set off by conflicts between Kearns' own background (as a poor white in the South and California, buffer between ruling-class power and minority misery) and his own foreground (privileged white male, tenured art professor and left activist living in an as-yet-ungenitrified part of the Lower East Side). By choice, he has not exhibited in a major New York gallery since 1974, when his show of newspaper items about the births, weddings and deaths in a small Massachusetts town were at the prestigious OK Harris gallery.

Disgusted by the art world's assumption that he was mocking rather than celebrating these ordinary lives, Kearns began to devote his time to left cultural activism. He maintained his interest in the mass media as a reflection and distortion of lived experience, working with Amiri Baraka's Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union, with the Black United Front in Brooklyn and with the Committee Against Fort Apache in the South Bronx. He used photography, not as an art form, but as an organizing tool, to provide positive, empowering images of people crushed by stereotyping, or to document resistance—to Hollywood, or to cop brutality.

From 1980, Kearns has worked with the progressive artists' group PADD (Political Art Documentation—Distribution) and in 1983 he began again to make "objects," at first by enlarging and cutting out images from his photographs of demonstrations. Now, as he re-en-

ters the high art arena, Kearns is once again confronting the contradictions between the creation of a multi-leveled, formally powerful art and the double-faceted strictures imposed on one hand by mainstream scorn for engagement and, on the other, the left's often simplistic notion of accessibility.

The paintings at Exit Art speak out for the necessity of artistic independence as well as social involvement. They pose some new questions for Marxist esthetics and criticism and they mark the development of a complex new left visual culture that walks a tightrope between personal expression and public responsibility, between the politically correct and the esthetically ambitious.

One door that should be open to a lot of viewers is the white male, Why-Me? guilt (and anger) that informs much of Kearns' imagery. In *Missing*, the triple portrait of murdered graffiti artist Michael Stewart, larger in death than life, takes on the aura of a public monument, while in front, a cartoon white male in red-and-white boxer's trunks flashes open his "cop-blue" coat and peers

Kearns' work marks the development of a visual culture that walks a tightrope between art and life.

down with horror at his torso. It's neatly pierced by three (face-like) square "windows" or "frames." Part of his head is also cubistically sectioned away. The blue-eyed devil finds that part of him is missing, and the black youth is dead—the double result of racism. On another level, this painting is a visual pun on artists, the ordeal of "having an opening" or "being framed."

Political is personal

In *Talking Heads*, a couple lies in bed. The woman is awake, her back to the man and he glances anxiously at her. Behind them, like phantoms in the night, tower three shadowy heads, recognizable as the decapitated victims of rightwing Salvadoran death squads. Almost invisible, at first, across the crumpled bed, hover the newsdotted shadows of the killers. Like the man in *Disco*, this couple is caught between two layers of ominous political reality that reflects (or is reflected in) their relationship. The political is personal.

Kearns, and other colleagues, are turning the notion of propaganda inside out, exposing the not-so-silver-lining of the flasher's raincoat—the propaganda that so closely envelopes us that we don't recognize it as anything but a familiar skin.

Few Americans know or care much about art, but at the same time, most Americans consume imagery at a hitherto unprecedented rate and appetite. Media dominance has made a lot of "fine artists" very envious. Time was, not so long ago, when painters and sculptors basked in the luxury of high-minded, if usually penurious, superiority. While the art "world" still represents hypothetical "freedom," it has become clear to the TV generation in the last decade that fine art is actually "below" rather than "above it all," controlled and supported by an upper-class minority and thereby—in terms of audience size and breadth—simply out of the mass-cultural running.

Thus this search for new symbols to communicate the meanings buried in the popular culture—through which, for better, but usually for worse, we see the world. As one of the few artists committed to social as well as to esthetic quality, Kearns often touches a truly subversive psychic nerve.

In *Constructive Engagement*, one of his show's boldest works, a newsphoto of lines of black South African schoolboys stand, arms folded, staring directly at the viewer. They are held back, literally and figuratively, by the striking pattern of a chain-link fence. Coming from "our" side, a snarling red dog lunges at the fence (the painting's original title was "Red Neck"). The boys stand firm, waiting for the onslaught.

By exposing the cracks in the monolith of "a homogenized, classless, integrated American life," as illustrated in the dominant media, Kearns is riding the risks on what he calls the "sliding plates of reality—touching, disrupting, threatening a social earthquake in which the otherwise seamless fabric of corporate culture is ripped. The lie busts open," he says in words and work, "and a complex reality comes bubbling up, spilling out all over the place."

Lucy Lippard writes regularly on art and politics for *In These Times* and has collaborated with Jerry Kearns on various projects since 1980.

Festival

Continued from page 24

homage by E. Ann Kaplan reads inexplicably like an attack).

In addition to the predictable commercial cross-over movies that draw mega-crowds and mega-stars to the festival, and the blue-chip European films that will be showing in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles festivals soon enough, there were a number of offbeat and unexpected pleasures still in search of distributors. *My Beautiful Laundrette*, an audience favorite and deservedly so, manages to mold fascism, race relations and homosexuality together into a story of a Pakistani youth. Director Stephen Frears composes ideological elements into an utterly non-ideological movie that moves at the pace of a rock'n'roll song and splinters assumptions with its ironic humor.

The Funeral, by Juzo Itami, likewise employs a sly wit to great advantage in its diary-like examination of three days in the lives of a hip couple of media stars who return to the countryside for her father's funeral. The juxtaposition of tradition and modernity is exemplified in one scene of the husband and wife watching a videocassette on how to behave at a funeral: what remarks to make to the bereaved or, alternately, what to reply to condolences in this ceremony-conscious culture.

One of the biggest hits, though, is a film already slated for an early 1986 release by the prestigious Samuel Goldwyn company. Donna Deitch's *Desert Hearts* is based on the beloved '50s novel by Jane Rule that told the tale of a repressed East Coast lady professor who comes to a Reno ranch to file for divorce, only to end up falling in love with the ranch's freewheeling resident lesbian. Deitch has kept the '50s atmosphere, spiked the sound track with fabulous country-western songs and pulled off a gutsy, even erotic, film.

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Women on sexuality

Whether there was any clear direction or common thread in the nearly 300 films composing the festival is unclear, but certainly the central series of "contemporary world cinema" did turn up a large number of films, many of them by women, treating the subject of sexuality. This was a particularly notable occurrence in the town long plagued by the excesses of the Ontario Censor Board. There was a near-skirmish this year over *Seduction: The Cruel Woman*, a new German film by Elfi Mikesch and Monika Treut, but eventually festival programmer Kay Armitage's eloquent defense won over the Board's initial objections.

Our Marriage by Valerie Sarmiento takes Freud to heart in a tale of a girl who literally marries daddy. And Vienna-based director Valie Export was represented by *The Practice of Love*, which opened with a woman journalist's investigation of pornography and ended with her torn between

her desires and her principles.

With the spirit of *Kiss of the Spider Woman* hovering over the festival anyway, the investigation of sexuality became an easy theme to spot—and one, perhaps, endemic to festival selection any year—but one provocative in its varying manifestations. The most distressing instance was provided by ex-documentarian Joyce Chopra, who made her fiction feature debut with *Smooth Talk*. With a film based on a Joyce Carol Oates story, Chopra has created a tease of a thriller that ties a young girl's emerging sexuality to the desires of a small-town psycho attracted by her aura. We hardly needed a woman director to create this kind of profoundly masculinist girl-in-distress narrative, nor, in a festival filled with sexual openness, did we need a scare tactic aimed at repression.

None of these films, however, won Toronto's coveted audience prize, the Labatt award, voted by the public. That honor

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 23-29, 1985 15 went to the powerful Argentine film by Luis Puenzo, *The Official Version*, which for the first time has taken up the theme of the *desparecidos*, the "missing ones." It was a significant choice, not just because it marks the end of military rule over Argentine cultural life, but because it echoes as well a new trend of the festival itself.

The Official Version was one of a number of Latin American films at the festival from Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela and Brazil. Traditionally, it's been the adjacent Montreal festival that's captured the Latin American entries. This year, however, Toronto invited Jorge Sanchez of Mexico's Zafra distribution company to be a jury member and, given Sanchez' ties to Latin American filmmakers throughout the continent, it seems likely that the new Latin American cinema will have a higher profile at Toronto in years to come.

B. Ruby Rich writes on film for the *Village Voice*, *American Film and Signs*.

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A FESTIVAL OF UNEXPECTED PLEASURES

By B. Ruby Rich

WHY SHOULD ANYONE WANT TO READ ABOUT A film festival? It's okay for the critic who gets to go to foreign lands and hobnob with movie folk and eat in good restaurants at someone else's expense... but for the reader? Isn't reading about a film festival taking place out of town about as gratifying as being regaled with a play-by-play of the last game by the home team in a hometown that's not yours? In most cases, yes, quite like that. But Toronto's Festival of Festivals, I swear, is different.

That's because most film festivals cater to the trade. If you're in Cannes, it's because your newspaper or publicist or distributor sent you there. If you're in Toronto, it's much more likely to be because you live there.

Toronto is one of the only festivals anywhere to defy cynicism, playing to the standards of the professionals and the tastes of the community. What distinguishes Toronto, especially this year, from most festivals is not only that it's just marked its 10th anniversary but, more to the point, that it has an *audience*. At 11 o'clock one weekday morning, the theater was packed for a new Japanese film by an unknown director. As many as six simultaneous screenings could occur in one evening with plenty of audience to go around.

And what an audience! Not just trade, not just the upscale culture set, but a genuinely democratic audience sincerely enamored of film. This makes the festival a mecca for critics like me, who don't breathe easily in the moneyed altitudes of Colorado's exclusive Telluride Film Festival or notice the absence of a majority of the city's citizens at Los Angeles' overhyped Filmex.

In the area of programming, meanwhile, Toronto has a variety of critical tastes informing the selections and a remarkable efficiency about getting them onto the screens, thus making it infinitely preferable to Chicago's jig-saw scheduling and considerably more flexible than New York's much more limited autumnal offerings.

Directors of the future

This fall, though, Toronto was special on different grounds. In honor of its own 10th anniversary, the festival staked out the decade-to-come with a guess at the 10 film directors Most Likely to Succeed. As a prophecy, this may turn out no better than your high school yearbook, but in the present moment, it made a great show. The 10 directors? Chantal Akerman, Phillip Borsos, Lino Brocka, Paul Cox, Bill Forsyth, Alan Rudolph, Raul Ruiz, Andrei Tarkovsky, Bertrand Tavernier, Margarethe Von Trotta.

It's an extremely strong set of choices, with a full half of them the ones I myself would have picked, even though some of the key overall percentages are disheartening (only 20 percent women? Only 10 percent from the Third World?). In particular, Chantal Akerman, Lino Brocka and Raul Ruiz are revealed through retrospectives (accorded all 10 choices) to be fully realized masters of cinema.

Once again, the Toronto audiences came through for these retro screenings, with lines down the block for the Akerman revivals and SRO houses for Brocka's work and personal appearances. There were amusing discoveries—like Ruiz' *The Territory*, a surreal early work of a pack of Americans lost in a European park and saved by cannibalism, which in today's context plays as a witty critique of yuppieism. And new surprises—like Akerman's recent *L'homme à la Valise*, a screwball comedy done in deadpan starring the director herself as a captive in her own apartment.

And Philippine director Lino Brocka, who became a *cause celebre* earlier this year when he was put in jeopardy by incurring the disfavor of the Marcos regime, turned out to be a particular Toronto favorite, entertaining not only with his films but also with his eloquent talks. In addition to staging the 10 retros, the festival published a useful catalog with essays on each director and their careers (though the Von Trotta

The Toronto Film

Festival was

unprecedented in

that it included

many films by women

on the controversial

subject of female sexuality.